

A True ACCOUNT
AND
DECLARATION
OF
The Horrid Conspiracy
Against the Late
KING,
His Present MAJESTY,
AND THE
GOVERNMENT:

As it was Order'd to be Published by His Late Majesty.

In the SAVOY:

Printed by THOMAS NEWCOMB, One of His
MAJESTIES Printers. 1685.

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THE GOVERNMENT OF
INDIA
AND THE
BRITISH
MAJESTY
AND THE
GOVERNMENT

Book of Crests
of All the Princely States

IN THE SANCTUARY:

Printed by Thomas & Son, Government Printers, One of His
Majesties Printers. 1882.



JAMES R.



JAMES the Second,

By the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland; Defender of the Faith, &c. To all to whom these Presents shall come; Greeting. Whereas Our Dearest Brother the late King of ever Blessed Memory, gave special Order in His Life-time for Drawing up the following Account and Declaration of the Horrid Conspiracy against His Sacred Person and Ours; and had provided, that the Substance of it should be Impartially Collected out of Original Papers, and unquestionable Records, and was Himself pleased to direct in what Method it should be digested, taking particular Care, that the Truth of the whole

Narration should have such Clearness and Strength, as it might deserve to be owned by Himself. Accordingly it was Composed and ready for the Press, when it pleased Almighty God to take that Excellent Prince to his Mercy. And whereas it is but too evident, that the same Hellish Plot is not entirely extinguished, but that divers of the Wicked Actors in it are still carrying on new Contrivances against the Happy Peace of Our Dominions; We cannot but judge it seasonable in this Juncture of Time to have Our Subjects reminded of the Rise, Progress and Mischievous Designs of that desperate Confederacy. To this end, having first Read and Examined this Account and Declaration, that We might be the better able to give Our Royal Testimony, as We do by these Presents, to the Faithfulness and Certainty of the whole Relation, We have caused it to be now Printed and Published. Given at Our Court at Whitehal, the 21 day of May, 1685. in the First Year of Our Reign.

By His Majesties Command,

SUNDERLAND.



JAMES R.

OUR Will and Pleasure is, and We do hereby Appoint Thomas Newcomb One of Our Printers, to Print this Account and Declaration; and that no other Person presume to Print the same, as they will answer the contrary. Given at Our Court at Whitehal, the 23 Day of May 1685. in the First Year of Our Reign.

By His Majesties Command,

SUNDERLAND.



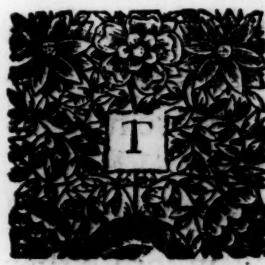
JAMES R.

By His Majesties Command

ОЧИЛЯСУС



A True ACCOUNT
OF THE
Horrid Conspiracy
Against the Late KING,
His Present MAJESTY,
And the GOVERNMENT.



THE KING has thought fit to lay open, and to declare to the World, An Exact Aecount of the late Accursed Conspiracy, which was actually form'd, and carried on in *England*, and set on foot in *Scotland*, against His own, and his only and dearest Brothers Life, and against the Peaceable and Flourishing Government of His Majesties Kingdoms; as far forth, as hitherto the Particulars of it have come to His Knowledge, by the Voluntary Confessions, or undeniable Convictions of divers of the Principal Conspirators.

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By thus faithfully representing the plain Matter of Fact, though perhaps all the Groundless Suggestions, and Malicious Insinuations of Factious Men, will not be wholly put to silence ; it being their old, and constant Artifice, to support, and incourage their Party, by Impudent Slanders and Falshoods, against the clearest Light, and most evident Proof : Yet however His Majesty will have the Satisfaction hereby to confirm the Loyalty, and good Affections of all His loving Subjects at Home, and to establish Abroad the Reputation, and Honour of His Royal Justice.

And moreover (which His Majesty most of all regards) this Publick, and Lasting Testimony will be given of His sincere Thankfulness to Almighty God, for that Miraculous Deliverance from a Danger, which came so near His Sacred Person, and was so far spread in the Ruine, it threaten'd to all His People.

It is well known, what mischievous Arts of late Years have been used, and what Treasonable Courses taken, to withdraw these Nations from their bounden Duty and Allegiance, and to expose His Majesties most Just, and Merciful Government to Calumny and Contempt : The Rebellious Design having been apparently carried on by all sorts of Malecontents ; whom either their Crimes, or Wants, their furious Zeal, or unbounded Ambition, inclined to wish for a Disturbance of the Peace, and Prosperity, which His Majesties Dominions have so long enjoy'd, to the Envy of all His Neighbours.

To this wicked purpose, many the very same fatal Methods and specious Pretences, which, in
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the Days of his Majesties Glorious Father, had involved these Kingdoms in Confusion and Blood, were once again revived, and by many the very same Persons ; Men of crafty, restless, and implacable Spirits ; impenitent after the most Gracious Pardons ; whom long Experience had made skilful in seducing weak, and unstable Minds, by counterfeiting the plausible Names of things in themselves most excellent, but most dangerous when abused ; such as Liberty, Property, Conscience, and Religion.

By these wretched Instruments, was this most gentle, and benign Government again reproached with Tyranny, and Arbitrary Power : The Church of *England* was once more Traduced, as Popishly affected : The most able Officers, and faithfulest Servants of the Crown again Reviled, under the odious Title of Evil Councillours.

In the mean time Sedition and Schism were every where promoted ; unreasonable Fears suggested ; vain Suspicions of future Dangers augmented to destroy the present Tranquility ; desperate Speeches, infamous Libels, Traiterous Books swarm'd in all places ; and under colour of the only True Protestant, the worst of all Unchristian Principles were put in practise ; all the old Republican, and Antimonarchical Doctrines, whose Effects had formerly prov'd so dismal, were now again as confidently own'd, and asserted, as ever they had been during the hottest Rage of the late unhappy Troubles.

From these Preparations to a new Rebellion, the Party began by degrees to proceed to Action. Distinctions of Sides were made : Names, and
Tokens

Tokens of Separation were given : Illegal Conventicles were maintained , in defiance of the Laws of God, and Man : Tumultuous Feasts, and Factious Clubs were set up in City, and Country : Close, and Seditious Meetings haunted : Frequent Cabals appointed, and by Men of high degree with the lowest : Great Stores of Arms provided by private Persons : Insolent Progresses made through divers Countries ; thereby to glory in their Numbers, and to carry far and near the Terrore of their Power, and even to Muster their Party ready for some sudden Blow, or general Insurrection.

All these, and many more such Personal Indig- nities, and Publick Assaults on the Government, his Majesty long endured with the same Mildness, and Clemency, wherewith he had already for- given the highest Crimes against himself ; His Royal Goodness still patiently expecting, and wish- ing, that in time the most obstinate of his mis- guided Subjects would see their Errour, and re- turn at length to a sene of the Duty, they owe him by all the strongest Bands of Nature and Laws, Religion and Gratitude, that can possibly oblige Subjects towards a Sovereign.

But when his Majesty was abundantly con- vinc'd that all those dark Consultations, and open Tumults of unruly Men, were but so many infal- lible Signs, and Forerunners of Rebellion, or some extraordinary Commotions ; Then at last, in a tender respect to his Peoples Safety , more than to his own, was his Majesty constrain'd to awa- ken his Authority, to try what good Effect the Vigour of his Laws would have on those Offen- ders,

ders, with whom all his repeated Mercy and Indulgence had so little prevail'd.

Yet such was then his Majesties hard Fortune, so firmly combined were the Disaffected, especially by their Prevalent Interest in packing the Juries of *London* and *Middlesex*, that whilst his Majesty carefully endeavour'd to distribute Impartial Justice to all his Subjects, he could not obtain the same Right Himself; his Enemies still becoming more numerous, and united in those very places, where their desperate Enterprises against the Government, were likely to be most sudden and pernicious.

Amongst divers other infamous Examples of this Nature, was that of *Colledge the Joyner*. For though the Criminal was so mean a Man, and no other ways considerable, but for his audacious Forwardness in affronting the Government; yet his Majesty, with all his Royal Authority, could hardly prevail to have him brought to a Fair and Legal Tryal. Nor had his Majesty been able at last to procure so much Justice to be done, had not the Process been removed into another County, where (the Rulers of the Faction being less powerful,) that new and damnable Opinion and Practice of the Lawfulness of Equivocating and even of Perjury for the *Good Old Cause*, had not prevailed over the old and honest English Principles of Truth and Honour.

However though in the end his Majesties Justice got the better at that time, yet it was defeated in a greater, and more important Instance, that of the late Earl of *Shaftesbury*; who had been long and reasonably suspected, and in the issue

was manifestly discovered to be the chief Author, and supreme Manager of all these Trayterous Contrivances against his Majesties Crowns and Life.

The said Earl his Majesty had formerly pardon'd, inrich'd, ennobled, and advanc'd to one of the highest Stations in the Kingdom ; by a long Succession of manifold Bounties, endeavouring to render his Abilities, and Experience in Business, serviceable to his King, and beneficial to his Country.

Yet so treacherous and undermining was his Genius ; so unmeasurable his Ambition ; so impatient of quiet, and moderate Courses ; so much fitter he was to be the Instrument of a Tyrant, than the Servant of a Just and Good Prince ; that after many hainous Infidelities and Offences committed by him, and forgiven by his Majesty, he was at length necessitated to discharge him his Service ; yet so as to leave him one of the most considerable Peers in the Kingdom for Title and Estate.

But his aspiring and revengeful Spirit could not brook so gentle a disgrace. Wherefore having deservedly been dismiss'd the Court, he presently attempted to set the Country directly against it. Immediately he profess'd himself the most zealous true Protestant, and the greatest Patriot ; Thereby slyly insinuating his designs into the Heads of all Sects and Divisions in Church and State : To them betraying some, vilifying others ; maliciously interpreting all his Majesties Counsels ; Making those very Consultations, and resolutions of State, whereof he had been the chief Adviser,

ser, when he was in Power, to be the principal objections against the Government, when he was displaced.

Thus he and his party went boldly on to disturb the publick quiet, and to affront his Majesties Authority with the highest Insolence : In Words and Writings defaming it, as Arbitrary and Tyranical, whilst in Deeds he insulted over it, as believing it to be weak, and resolving to make it despicable. And all this with a secure confidence not only of Indempnity, but Success ; Knowing himself to be under the protection of Juries of his own appointment, or approbation : And therefore presuming he was far out of the reach of his Majesties just Indignation.

And so for a time it unhappily proved. For being legally indicted of Crimes of the highest Nature ; though the Evidence against him was clear, and positive ; some of the Witnesses being the very same Men, whose Testimony had been approved of, in the prosecution of *Oats's Plot* ; And the very Original draught of a treasonable Association having been actually found in his Custody ; yet he could not be brought to a Lawful Trial by his Peers, the Indictment being stifled by a shameful *Ignoramus* ; and that accompanied with so much Insolence, that the very Ministers of his Majesties Justice were in much more danger than the Criminal, and hardly escap'd the rude Assaults of his Confederates and Party.

However, from so great a Violation of Common Right, and of the Royal Dignity, his Majesty gain'd this very considerable Advantage, That thenceforth he plainly perceived the main Strength

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of all his Enemies Arrogance lay in their Extravagant Power to pack the City-Juries. For what Treason might not the Earl of *Shaftsbury* securely Project, or *Ferguson* Write, or an Association Act against the Government, whilst *Good-enough*, and a settled Club, was at hand with their Corrupt Pannels, to Indemnifie, and if need were, to second and applaud their most Villanous Practices?

Wherefore his Majesty foreseeing how destructive, in time, the Effects of so great and growing a Mischief would be, resolved at length, after many Intolerable Provocations, to strike at that which he had now found to be the very Root of the Faction.

This his Majesty, and all wise and good Men perceiv'd, could be no other ways done, than first by reducing the Elections of the Sheriffs of *London* to their Antient Order and Rules, that of late were become only a Business of Clamour and Violence: And then to make Inquiry into the Validity of the City-Charter it self; which an ill Party of Men had abused to the Danger, and would have done it to the Destruction of the Government, had they been suffer'd to go on never so little farther uncontrol'd.

In both these most just and necessary Undertakings, the Righteousnes of his Majesties Cause met with an answerable Success. First, notwithstanding all the Tumultuous Riots the Factious Party committed, to disturb the peaceable Issue of that Affair; yet the undoubted Right of the Lord Mayor's Nominating the eldest Sheriff, was restored and established: And so the Administra-

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tion of Justice once more put in a way of being cleared from Partiality and Corruption. And then a due Judgment was obtain'd, by an equal Proofs of Law, against the Charter it self, and its Franchises declared forfeited to his Majesty.

But though this happy Event of his Majesties Controversie with the disaffected part of the City of London, was in all Humane probability, the only effectual Course to provide for the future Peace, and Stability of the Government; yet it had like to have proved a pifient Occasion of its utter Ruine. For when so many guilty Persons found, that the great Point of the Sheriffs was refettled on its Antient Bottom, and the City-Charter it self in hazard of being speedily vacated; so that now there would be no farther evasion for them, by any pretence of Law, to escape unpunish'd: Then they concluded it was high time to bring their Devilish Purposes to a quicker issue, and once for all to strike boldly at the Heart of the KING and Kingdom.

Particularly the Earl of Shaftesbury, being conscious to himself of the blackness of his Crimes, and of the Iniquity of the Verdict, by which he had for that time escaped; and finding he was now within the compass of the Justice he had so lately frustrated and contemn'd, thenceforth gave over all his quieter and more plausible Arts of Sedition, whereby he proudly bragg'd he should, in time, as his Expression was, *Leisurely walk his Majesty out of his Dominions*; and on a sudden betook himself to more precipitate Enterprises: Alarming his Companions with a prospect of their

common danger ; thence inflaming some to Insurrections, others to Assassinations ; supposing now there was no way left for him, or them, to justify their former Misdemeanors and Treasons, but by attempting and succeeding in greater Mischiefs.

This was found by evident Proof to have been the principal rise and occasion of ripening the Horrid Conspiracy in the Kingdom of *England*. Nor could there possibly have happen'd a stronger Justification of his Majesties Counsels in attempting to rectifie the City-Juries and Elections ; since it is apparent his principal Enemies laid so much stress on the unjust Power they had therein usurp'd, that, being once fairly driven from that Strength, they immediately resolv'd, nothing less than a bare-fac'd and avow'd Rebellion could repair the Loss their Party sustain'd by so great a Blow.

As for his Majesties Kingdom of *Scotland*, it is notorious there has been long shelter'd in it a desperate Faction of furious Zealots, that under the old Professions of the Cause of Christ, and a purer way of Gospel-Worship, has grown up by degrees to a Violation at last, not only of all the Rules and Institutions of true Religion, but of common Humanity. For does not the whole Christian World at this day behold with Horrour, that the most Villanous Tenets of the fiercest Scottish Covenanters, and even of their Remonstrators, have been out-done by their Successors and Disciples in the Field-Meetings, and Armed Conventicles ? Have they not thence proceeded to all the Execrable Rage of Rapine and Violence ? In so much that some of them have lived and died glorying in

in the most barbarous Murders, and basest Cruelties ; refusing obstinately with their last Breath, so much as to pray for his Majesty, or to say, *God save the King* ; though by an unexampled Mercy, they had their Pardons assur'd to them at the very place and moment of their Execution, upon that single Condition.

And besides the remains of those Bloody Enthusiasts, whose Principles are not yet entirely extinguisht, though their force has been twice vanquish'd in open Field, by Gods Providence prospering his Majesties Arms ; It is certain also the Peace of that Kingdom has of late been much in-danger'd by other great Numbers of Factious and Seditious Spirits, who, though at first they would not venture to incourage publickly the others declared Treasons, yet stuck not secretly to Favour and foment their Cause, and as the event infallibly proves, would soon have Own'd and Headed their Fury, had it prosper'd.

Wherefore the wise care of former Sessions of Parliament there, having sufficiently provided by a due severity of Good Laws, against the dreadful Consequences of continuing the Field-Meetings ; for the farther securing the Reformed Religion, and the Antient Rights of the Crown and the Royal Family in that Kingdom, it was judg'd adviseable, by the Wisdom of his Majesties great Council, the last Session of Parliament, to appoint and Authorise a Solemn Test to be taken by all Persons in place of publick Trust, or Power.

In that Session the Test was soon pass'd into an Act of State, without any considerable opposition :

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Though there were not wanting some turbulent Men in the Assembly, who took that occasion of shewing, how ill they were affected to the establish'd Government of their Country; Which they could have no other inducement to be, but either a desire of Commotions, by reason of the desperate State of their own ill-spent Fortunes, or Envy at the better Condition of Honest Men, or some inveterate Contagion of Treason, derived down to them from the last unhappy Age of Confusions.

Of that unquiet and seditious Party, the chief and declared Head was the late Earl of Argyle, who during the very sitting of the Parliament, had, by many indirect ways, attempted to hinder his Majesties Service; the said Earl, and the then President of the Session, and their Complices taking their opportunity, in wording the Test, to add thereto all the very same Clauses, that have since given any Colour of scruple to themselves. But when all his crafts for obstructing the Bill were defeated by the far greater Number of well disposed Members, the Loyal Voters for it being at least Ten to one of the disaffected; then no sooner was the Parliament adjourn'd, but the said Earl of Argyle, first at Edinburgh, next in traversing several Shires, did make it his Chief Business to insinuate every where, into the minds of the Clergy and Laity, the most malicious prejudices imaginable against the whole tenour of the Test.

And afterwards on his return to Edinburgh he often presumptuously declared, he would either not take it at all, or take it only with a reserve of his own

own explanation ; which he put in Writing and dispers'd : the contrivance of it being such, as dissolves all the Obligations of the Oath , and makes his own present Fancy and private Opinion, the only Standard, whereby he meant to be guided in all the publick Duties of his Loyalty and Allegiance.

At length his Majesties High Commissioner the *Duke*, and the Privy Council of that Kingdom, having been well inform'd of the said Earls seditious Carriage in City and Country, and being fully confirm'd in their Judgments and Consciences of his Trayterous Purposes, in that fallacious and equivocating Paraphrase on the Test, which he own'd in their presence, perverting thereby the sound sense, and eluding the force of his Majesties Laws, in order to set the Subjects loose from their Obedience , and to perpetuate Schism in the Church, and Faction in the State : Upon these Grounds , he was most deservedly Prosecuted by his Majesties Advocate, before the Sovereign Justice-Court , according to the known Laws of his Country ; and after a full and equal Tryal, he was found guilty of Treason, by the Learned Judges, and a Jury not only of his Peers, but also many of them his own nearest Relations.

Soon after Judgment given , albeit the King was far from any thought of taking away his Life, and that no farther prejudice was design'd against him, but the forfeiture of some Jurisdictions and Superiorities, which he and his Predecessors had surreptitiously acquired , and most tyrannically exercis'd ; besides the disposal of part of his Estate

to pay his just Creditors, and some few moderate Donatives to those, whom he and his Father had formerly ruin'd for their Fidelity to his Majesty, the Surplusage being intended entirely to return, and descend to his Family; yet the said Earl abusing the great Freedom indulg'd him in Prison, (which he enjoy'd as largely after his Condemnation, as before) fled from his Majesties Mercy, the knowledge of his own Guilt not suffering him to venture on that Clemency, whereof he had before participated so plentifully, when he was under the like Sentence of Condemnation.

The King however, notwithstanding this new Provocation, still retain'd the same benign thoughts of favouring his Wife and Children. And before it was known that the said Earl had more Debt on his Estate than the full value of it amounted to, (which really was his Case) his Majesty was graciously pleas'd, in one Royal Largess, to give thrice more of the Inheritance to his Posterity, than their Father could lawfully have done, had it never been forfeited.

But how ill he deserved, or requited so many Acts of Grace and Bounty, will appear by the sequel of his Behaviour after his Escape. For instead of doing what his Complices and Dependents gave out he intended, that he would humbly cast himself at his Majesties Feet, and implore his Pardon, which he, of all Men living, had no reason to think desperate, he is no where to be found, but associating with his Majesties implacable Enemies in the Head of new Machinations of Treason, employs his Liberty abroad in maintaining Traiterous Correspondences at Home,

Home, with restless Malice exciting the wicked Conspirators of both Kingdoms to a fatal Union against the Life, Government and Family of his Liege Sovereign and Benefactor.

And all this is to be proved upon him by Arguments as clear as the Sun, by the Credit of his own Authentick Letters, and by the plain Depositions of his principal Messengers and Agents in the whole Villany.

By this brief Recollection of the troubled State of Affairs, and the Tumultuous Temper of ill Mens Minds, in his Majesties Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, about the time when this treasonable Conspiracy was in agitation, the impartial World may perceive, from what destructive seeds of Sedition, private Passions and Animosities, under the disguise of Religion and the publick Interest, so Monstrous a Birth was produced.

In the wonderful Discovery of which detestable Confederacy, and in the happy Prevention of its dire Effects, as all who have heard of it, must acknowledge that a signal care of Gods Providence has appear'd, for his Majesties and these Nations Preservation: So his Majesty gives the Sacred Word and Protestation of a King, that nothing has been done, on his part, but what was agreeable to that Royal Benignity and Natural Candor of his whole Life, whereof all the World, even his Enemies, have had such undoubted Experience.

The Evidence was, most of it, deliver'd in his Majesties own presence. The Examinations were taken by Men of unquestionable Reputation and Honour. The whole Proceeding has been managed

managed with all imaginable Integrity. There has been no straining or extorting of Accusations to blemish the Fame of the Innocent. : No Temptation of Rewards proposed : No Pardon assured before-hand, for discovering or aggravating the Crimes of the Guilty.

Some Witnesses, who offer'd themselves, of whom there might have been any colourable Suspicion, his Majesty wholly rejected : Lest it should once again happen, that the blasted Credit, or needy Condition, or profligate Lives of the Persons deposing should derogate from the strength of their Depositions, and administer any the least doubt of Subornation.

Those Witnesses his Majesty admitted had been generally Men strongly prepossess'd in Conscience, Zeal and Interest for that Party : Men whose former avow'd Hatred of the Government was reason sufficient to gain them an absolute trust with any, who studied to overthrow it. They were not of desperate Fortunes ; Nor despicable Men. For the most part they separately and singly brought in their Discoveries. Divers of them had little or no Conversation or Familiarity one with another. There was no shadow, or possibility of a combination between them all to discover ; yet such is the prevalence of Self-conviction, and so great the Power of Truth, that all their several Discoveries did perfectly agree with themselves and with each other in all material parts and circumstances.

It was therefore in the Summer of the Year 1683, a time when all his Majesties Dominions enjoyed a settled Peace, and profound security, whilst

whilst the greatest part of the Neighbouring World was involved in Wars and Combustions, that His Majesty and his Council were suddenly awaken'd with the surprizing Knowledge of this dreadful Conspiracy, which had been laying very deep and broad for many Months before.

The Man whom God chose to make the first Discoverer, was *Fosiah Keeling*, Citizen and Salter of *London*. A Person of good Credit in the common Business of his Calling : but otherwise a most perverse Fanatick ; so fiercely addicted to their Cause, that he had been one of the busiest Sticklers in all the late Publick Oppositions against the Government. Particularly, he was the very Man who undertook, and perform'd the most insolent Assault upon Authority, that perhaps the Party ever attempted in full Peace ; which was the Arresting the Lord Mayor, in open Day, in the midst of the City of *London*, for refusing to admit the pretended Sheriffs, who had been chosen by those Meetings of the Factious in and about the City, that the Law has since condemn'd as Unlawful and Riotous.

However, by so eminent and bold a piece of Service, together with his former approved Activity and Violence for the discontented Interest, was *Keeling* judg'd by the chief Conspirators fitly qualifi'd to be admitted into their most private Consultations. And accordingly thereafter they trusted him, as one of their surest Confidants. In so much that he was invited to make one of the Forty Miscreants, whose proper part it was to Assassinate his Majesties and his Royal Highnesses Persons.

Of which Number after he had freely consented to be, and had met and acted jointly with the rest for some time, to prepare the cursed Work for a speedy Execution ; it pleased the Divine Goodness so to touch his Soul with the Horrour of so amazing a Crime, that he could not rest Day nor Night, till after much conflict in his Mind, he had fully determin'd to discharge his Conscience of the Hellish Secret.

Wherefore having first Communicated some part of his burden to one Mr. *Peckam* his private Friend, who had often before warn'd him in general of the dangerous course he was in, by so deeply ingaging in all the former Seditious Intrigues, he was by him directed to address himself to the Lord *Dartmouth*, one of his Majesties Privy Council, who remitted him to Sir *Leolyn Jenkins*, Principal Secretary of State, before whom he gave his first Information upon Oath, and in due form of Law, on the Twelfth of *June* in that Year.

But the intended Assassination, upon the first disclosing of it, appear'd to be so prodigious a Barbarity, that his Majesty for some time gave but very little Ear, and slow Credit to this Information, as little suspecting as deserving such usage from the worst of his Subjects.

Which generous Caution that his Majesty took, not to be impos'd on by New Rumours of Plots, and his Gracious Tenderness not to believe so ill of his very Enemies, but upon certain Demonstration, was one of the chief Occasions, that divers of the principal Agitators and Managers of the whole busines, took the Alarm, and got time to scatter and withdraw beyond the Seas.

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However; by Gods Providence continually watching over his Majesties and these Nations safety, so many of the Traytors soon after fell into the Hands of Justice, who did either voluntarily acknowledge their being Partakers of the Treason, or were Convicted of it by Evident Proof ; that henceforth who ever shall pretend not to believe the Truth of the whole , they must either be such as were Parties in the Design, or so monstrously unreasonable , as to believe there never can be a Real Plot against any Prince or State, but what does actually succeed and take effect.

Thus much is certain of this Conspiracy, and it is so remarkable and extraordinary, that perhaps the like cannot be affirm'd of any other mention'd in all History, that there was scarce a Man Attainted, or Executed for it, who did not, more or less, add some new Light to the several parts of the dark Contrivance ; either by a plain Confession of it, or by their very manner of denying it ; and by the weakness of the Subterfuges, whereby they endeavour'd to palliate their Crimes.

Upon the whole Matter, though his Majesty doubts not but the Treasonable Infection was, in some degree or other, spread into most Quarters of these Kingdoms, amongst the Ringleaders of the Republican Clubs , and lawless Conventicles in Town and Country ; there being no reason for any Man to think otherwise , since it was the usual boast of their principal Factors, That more than Twenty Thousand Persons were made privy to the very beginnings of it, before the late Earl of Shaftsbury's Flight : Yet his Majesty utterly abhorring

abhorring that bare Suspicions, though never so probably grounded, should prevail to conclude any Man Guilty, has resolved no Reflection shall be made on the Fame of any, but only such, whose part in it was made out by positive Testimony.

And in the Kingdom of *England*, besides the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who during his time, was the Prime Engineer in contriving and directing all the several Motions and Parts of the whole Conspiracy; next under him, the Persons who are already Judicially found to have been deeply concern'd as Actors, some in the Insurrection part, others in the Assassination, divers of them in both together, are these,

The Duke of *Monmouth*, whom the Factious Party had long Corrupted, and Alienated from his Duty and Gratitude to the King and his Royal Highness, by suggesting and increasing in him groundless Fears, and poys'ning his Mind with unjust and forbidden Hopes.

The Lord *Gray of Wark*, who for some Years had been ingaged in the most furious Designs of the Faction; of late especially, after he found that the Wickedness of his private Life could neither be so well hidden, or go unpunish'd in a quiet State as in publick Disturbances.

The late Earl of *Essex*, whose dark and turbulent Spirit and insatiable Ambition had carry'd him on to be one of the Principal Authors of all the late Distractions in Publick Councils and Popular Heats against the Government: Till after many such ill Practices, unworthy the Son of such a Father, God left him at last to fall into this Precipice;

Precipice ; and permitted him to punish himself for it more severely than the King could ever have found in his Heart to do , had he but given his Majesty time to make use of the excellent Goodness of his Nature.

The Lord *Howard of Escrick* , who had always been a busie Promoter of Fanatical and Republican Projects for Alterations in Church and State ; and was therefore for a time the second Favourite of the Disaffected , whilst he was Imprison'd with the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. Nor did they ever make any Objections against the Honesty of his private Life , till he came to the honestest part of it.

The Lord *Russel* , a Person carried away beyond his Duty and Allegiance into this Traiterous Enterprise , by a vain Air of Popularity , and a wild Suspicion of losing a great Estate by an imaginary return of Popery ; whereby he was the more easily seduced by the wicked Teachers of that most Unchristian Doctrine , which has been the cause of so many Rebellions , and was so conformable to his Presbyterian Education , That *it is lawful to Resist and Rise against Sovereign Princes for preserving Religion*.

Colonel *Algernoon Sidney* , who from his Youth had profest himself an Enemy to the Government of his Country , and had acted accordingly . As he lived , so he died , a Stubborn Assertor of the *Good Old Cause* .

Mr. *John Hambden the Younger* , who has renew'd , and continued the Hereditary Malignity of his House against the Royal Family ; his Grandfather having been the most Active Instrument to widen the Breach between the late Blessed KING ,

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and the seduced part of his People. The Usurper *Cromwell* often own'd, That Mr. *Hambden* was the very Man who advised him to oppose the Justice and Honour of his Majesties Cause, with an affected Zeal of Conscience and pure Religion.

Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, a Debauch'd Atheistical Bravo ; one of those, who with an Hypocrisie peculiar to this Age, would have pass'd for the most forward Reformers of Church and State ; whilst they themselves both in their Practise and Opinions, were the greatest Corrupters of Virtue, and all Good Manners.

Lieutenant Colonel *Walcot*, an Old Officer in *Cromwell's Army* ; who after Pardon and Indemnity receiv'd, and a plentiful Estate secured to him by his Majesties most Happy Return, yet was actually ingaged in all the Plots against the Government ever since : Particularly in that of *Ireland* some Years ago, to surprize the Castle of *Dublin*. He was Introduced by the Lord *Howard*, under the Character of a Stout and Able Officer, into a strict Familiarity with the Earl of *Shaftsbury* ; from whom he never after parted till his Death ; accompanying him in his Flight into *Holland*, and returning thence with his Corps ; he and *Ferguson* having this peculiar Mark of his Kindness, to be named Legatees in his Last Will and Testament, as his special Friends.

Colonel *John Romzey*, who had gotten Credit abroad in *Portugal*, by his Courage and Skill in Military Affairs. He was recommended to the Earl of *Shaftsbury* as a Soldier of Fortune, resolute and fit for his turn, in any desperate Attempt. By his Majesties Favour, upon his Royal Highnesses

nesses Intercession, he got possess'd of a very considerable Office in the Customs of Bristol; which having sold, he afterwards most ungratefully became the said Earls entire Creature and Dependant. Nor was he ever a profess'd Papist, as, since his Confession, the Party has given out that he was, according to their wretched Impudence of Lying.

Thomas Shepard Merchant of the City of London, one of a plentiful Estate, and eminent Repute, as any of his Rank on the Exchange: But a Violent Nonconformist, and Disciple of Ferguson's.

The two *Goodenoughs*, *Richard* and *Francis*, both Notorious Enemies of the Establish'd Government in Chutch and State. During all the time of the Factious Citizens most furious Erup-tions against Authority, they had been both, for some Years, by turns, Under-Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex*; so that the whole wicked Mystery and Trade of packing the *Ignoramus* Juries pass'd through their Hands.

Major Holms, a Fifth-Monarchy-Man, an old Army-Officer, a Confident of *Cromwel's*, and Trustee for his Family. In the late Times of *Usurpation* he was a Major in the English Army in *Scotland*, where he became acquainted with the Earl of *Argyle*, and was since made intimate to all his Treasonable Purposes.

Richard Rumbold Maitster, another old Army-Officer, a desperate and bloody *Ravilliac*, who had often before laid Designs for the K I N G's Murder, which God as often prevented by some signal Providence.

William

William Rumbald, his Brother worthy of such a Brother.

Aaron Smith, a furious Fanatick, who amongst many other Seditious Practices, was a Factious Sollicitor for *College the Joyner*: and with unparallel'd boldness dared to menace the Government, and to put a Libel into that notorious Malefactors hands, before the Judges faces, at the very time of his Tryal: for which High Misdemeanor, he has since fallen under the censure of the Law.

William Hone, a Joyner, a melancholy Enthusiast, of *Colleges Trade and Spirit*; who besides a large Confession of his and others share in this Conspiracy, did also frankly own at his Tryal and Death, that many Years before he had proposed and design'd the Killing of the King out of *Bow-Steeple*, as his Majesty was passing to *Guild-Hall*.

John Rouse, a busie Agent in all the Tumultuous Proceedings of the City Elections.

Zachary Bourn, a Brewer, Son to an obstinate Independent, and he himself one of *Ferguson's Hosts and Familiars*. *Thomas Lea* a Dyer, *Andrew Barber*, both Anabaptists. However these three last mention'd did in some measure expiate their Guilt, by their ingenious and voluntary Confessions.

John Ayloff a Lawyer, the very Man who in a spightful defiance of his Majesties Government, did many Years since venture to put a French Wooden Shooe into the Speakers Chair of the House of Commons. Nor has the rest of his Life since come short of the insufferable Insolence of that Action.

Joseph

Joseph Tyley, Edward Norton, Edward Wade, Richard Nelthrop, Robert West, all of them Republican Lawyers, their Hatred of the Government transporting them to be Factious, against the known Interest of their own Profession. These were all Men of Crafty Heads, and Nimble Tongues; restless Spreaders of false News, bold Talkers in Seditious Clubs; where, according to the corrupt fashion of those Times, the most profligate Persons of all Conditions were wont openly to Arraign the Monarchy, and vilifie the Church, under the fair shows of amending both, and a tender Concernment for the Publick Good.

Next, in the Kingdom of Scotland, the Names of the chief Instruments, who are already proved to have transacted that part of the Conspiracy under the Conduct and Influence of the late Earl of Argyle, and who since, well nigh all to a Man; but those that escaped on the first Notice of the Discovery, have made ample Declarations of their Guilt, are these,

Sir Hugh and Sir John Campbell, near Relations of the said Earls, and as much the profess'd Enemies of their Countries Peace and Government.

Sir John Cockran, Mr. William Baillie, Men egregiously disaffected to the Government, and therefore of considerable Interest with its most desperate Enemies in both Kingdoms.

These, together with *Monroe*, were the Persons desired by the English Managers, to come up to *London*, and Treat of a Joint Conspiracy with their Brethren here, under the disguise of Planting *Carolina*. At the same time Lieutenant

Colonel *Walcot* was call'd out of *Ireland* for the same end, but under colour of being the intended *Governour* of that *Plantation*. To this purpose they were first invited hither by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and after his Death again sent for by a Particular Messenger. Accordingly they actually came up and Negotiated here some time, in order to a firm *Conjunction* between the *Traytors* of both *Nations* for a general *Rising*. Nor was the *Treaty* wholly broke off, or adjusted, at the very time when the *Discovery* broke forth.

To these are to be added, *James Steuart*, Son to Sir *James Steuart* sometimes *Provost* of *Edinburgh*. He was fitted for such a design by his hot and fiery Temper, and by his Education, and his Fathers Example; who together with most of his Relations, were violent *Covenanters*. This Man was the Author of the *Libel* call'd, *The Scottish Grievances*.

The Lord *Melvil*, descended from Progenitors of such Principles as have been ever against the *Crown*, when they have fancied their Kings not Zealous for the Reformation. This Man had the Management of the Duke of *Monmouth's* Affairs in *Scotland* many Years: And when the Duke march'd against the Rebels near *Bothwel-Bridge*, the said *Melvil* (as the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had advis'd) sent to them to Capitulate, assuring them, the Duke of *Monmouth* had Orders to give them good Conditions; and when they would not submit, *Melvil* was over-heard to say, *That all was lost*: For the Beating of them would lose the said Duke with his Friends in *England*.

Sir

Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, who kept Correspondence with Shafisbury many Years, and had been formerly Imprison'd in Scotland for Traiterous Expressions.

Pringle Laird of Corwoodlee, a noted Fanatick, and of Antimonarchical Principles from his Infancy.

Denham of East-Sheels, just such another, but less cautious, and more headstrong:

Montgomery of Lenshaw, a Covenanter to the highest degree of Bigotry.

Commissary Monroe, who had well serv'd his Majesty in the Wars, as an active, brave Man : But upon some Injuries he pretended to have receiv'd from the Duke of Lauderdale, he grew enrag'd to such a degree, as led him into these Courses ; which now make him so uneasie to himself, that he has often begg'd of his Keeper to kill him, for such an ungrateful Wretch should not live.

Hugh Scot Laird of Gallowsheels, James Murray Laird of Philiphaugh, both zealous Sticklers for the Field-Conventicle-Meetings.

Besides these, the Principal Scottish Agents, there were divers other inferior Emissaries of that Nation, who went to and fro to carry on the Traiterous Intercourse between Scotland and England, and with the Earl of Argyle in Holland. Such as William Carstares, a Scotch Conventicle-Preacher to a Numerous Meeting at Theobalds, where Rumbold was his frequent Hearer.

William Spence, who had been Comptroller, and was now Employed as Secretary to the Earl of Argyle, taken in London under the Name of Butler.

John

John Nisbet, born in *Northumberland*, bred up at the University of *Edinburgh*; where he was the Leader of those Seditious Students, who rais'd a Tuimult upon occasion of Burning the Pope in that City.

But of all the Conspirators, whether English, or Scotch, the Man, to whom next the late Earls of *Shaftsbury* and *Argyle*, belong'd the chief place and precedence in the whole Diabolical Design, was *Robert Ferguson* a Scotch-Man; he had been divers Years a fierce Independent-Preacher in the City of *London*, and had long Brandish'd his Poys'ous Tongue and Virulent Pen against the Government: He is manifestly convicted to have had a Hand in the most Scandalous Libels of those Times; And was always particularly cherished, magnified and maintained by the Party, for his peculiar Talent in aspersing the Government, and reviling his Majesties Person. So that upon all Accounts, of his restless Spirit, fluent Tongue, subtil Brain, and hellish Malice, he was perfectly qualifi'd to be the great Incendiary, and common Agitator of the whole Conspiracy; and after *Shaftsbury's* Death, it cannot be denied, but he was the Life, and Soul of all, especially for the carrying on of the Assassination.

These Persons appear hitherto to have been the principal Contrivers or Instruments of the whole Treason, in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*.

Divers others there are, concerning whom more than conjectural Proofs may be given, of their being engaged in it: But his Majesty is willing to spare particular Names, as far as may stand with

relating to emit the

the Necessary, and Just Vindication of his Government.

It may suffice, that of these his Majesty has here allowed to be mention'd, the World is abundantly satisfied, that the several Shares they undertook in this Conspiracy, were very agreeable to their former well known perverse Principles, and declared Disaffections to the Government.

It is therefore certain that in the Year 1682, before, and especially after *Midsummer-Day*, when the great Business of Electing the City Sheriffs came of course to be Agitated; the whole Factious Interest in and about the Town, prepared to employ the Main of their Power and Craft in preventing the Swearing of the True Sheriffs, on the *Michaelmas-Day* ensuing.

All which time nothing was omitted by the Disloyal Citizens, and great Numbers of Strangers unduly mingled with them in all their Assemblies, to elude or terrifie the Honest Zeal of the Loyal, and to deceive and gain over the doubtful Members of the City; Whether by direct or indirect ways, it matter'd not: For just about that time the New and Devilish Invention came to be most in Vogue, by which they made the receiving all Oaths, and taking the very Blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper, to be only an Instrument for the promoting their pretended Godly Designs.

Wherefore in that space of time, all imaginable prophane, and seemingly holy Cheats and Prevarications were practis'd: All sorts of Arms never before known to be procured in such Quantities by private Persons; such as Blunderbusses,

Steel Armor cover'd with Silk, and the like, were carefully sought after, and bought up : The most improbable false Rumors fill'd every Street ; That now all true Protestants were to be Massacred in an instant ; That such Sheriffs were Nominated, as had consented to be the Executioners ; That Popery was speedily to be Introduced barefac'd, and in Triumph ; That all faithful Adherents to the Government were but Papists in Masquerade : Popery being still made the Word of Alarm to excite and exasperate the Populace : Though it is manifest, the Authors of all those Clamours against Popery, never intended its Suppression : For that would not have consisted with their Design, which was, by the Popular Dread of it, upon all Occasions to shake the Crown, and undermine the Church of *England*.

The Truth is, to such a heighth of Arrogance were things grown on their side, that whoever shall indifferently reflect on the dangerous Devices, slanderous Reports and Writings, and other violent Emotions of the whole Party, that Summer in the City, they will have just cause to conclude, that the course of their Proceedings was not so much a Civil Struggle against their Fellow-Citizens for Victory in the Peaceable Choice of Two subordinate Officers of Justice, as a Decisive Contention for a Mastery over the whole Government.

Yet however cunningly the Train was laid, it took no effect but on themselves. The Noise and Rage of all their Mutinous Routs in Taverns and Coffee-Houses vanish'd into Air. Sir *John Moor* the Lord Mayor, together with the greater number
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of wiser, richer, and better Citizens, understood rightly, and stuck unmoveably to the Kingdoms; and their own true Interest. Mr. North and Mr. Rich were quietly admitted, and sworn Sheriffs at the appointed time, with the usual Solemnities.

Immediately after this, the very same Night the Earl of Shaftsbury privately withdrew from his own House, redoubling his old Exclamations of Popery, Tyranny, Superstition, Idolatry, Oppressions, Murders, Irish Witnesses; of whose Subornation no Man in the three Kingdoms could have given a more exact account than himself.

Whilst he thus lay secret in the City, Romzey, Walcot, Ferguson, Goodenough, and others his Complices, daily frequenting him, they applied themselves with all diligence to expedite the Rebellious Work before projected: His Vain-glory, and the Conceit of his own Dexterity, and his former constant success in making Confusions, inclining him to fancy, what his Flatterers suggested, that the whole City and Kingdom were at his beck, and upon the holding up of his Finger, would presently rise in Arms to extirpate the two Brothers, Slavery and Popery, as they were lewdly wont, in their private Debauchies, to style the King and his Royal Highness.

The said Earl of Shaftsbury had some time before set on foot a Treaty with the Earl of Argyle, who, after his escape out of Edinburgh-Castle, came privily to London, held divers Meetings with the Confederates, and offer'd, that for 30000*l.* Sterling he would make a sturdy Commotion in Scotland. But the Sum of Money demanded being

ing so considerable, and many other Scruples start-ed, and unforeseen Difficulties rising, which could not so presently be removed, as Argyle's pressing danger required, he first quitted the Field, and retired into *Holland*, with intention there at a greater distance, and more security, to renew and prosecute the same Proposal.

About that time also both ways of destroying these Kingdoms were brought under their Consideration, the general way of an Insurrection, and the more compendious way, as they call'd it, of Assassinating the King and Duke in their return that *October* from *Newmarket*. The Insurrection was instantly promoted on all Hands, in Town and Country. But the Assassination having then not been soon enough thought on, went no farther than Discourse, to be afterwards resumed, and more deliberately provided for against the next Opportunity.

In the mean while the long expected *Michaelmas-Day* being thus calmly pass'd, and the New Sheriffs having taken a peaceable Possession of that Power, whose influence on the whole Nation, the said Earl of *Shaftsbury* well understood, no Man better: Then he began on a sudden to have a quicker and sharper sense of the urgent State of their common Affairs, especially of his own Im-minent Peril, and to accuse the rest of the Con-federates of backwardness, if not of Treachery in the Public Cause: First communicating his Sus-picions and Jealousies to the Lord *Howard*, who had been so lately the Companion of his restraint, and Gaol-Delivery.

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The Lord *Howard* was retir'd some Days before into *Essex*, waiting the result of that great Day in the City, whence he receiv'd frequent intimations from his Friends of the Faction, in a Style obscure, but by him well understood and concert'd between them ; That now the business which had been Transacting so long amongst his Correspondents, was coming to good Issue, and call'd for his speedy presence.

That occasioned his return on the same *Michaelmas-Day*, and presently after, *Walcot* came to him from the Earl of *Shaftesbury* with a Message expressing his earnest desire to speak with him, in his Concealment at one *Watson's* in *Wood-street*.

Accordingly the Lord *Howard* giving him a Visit, the substance of the said Earl's first discourse with him, was, That finding the Due Elections, as he call'd them, of the City frustrated, and the Pseudo-Sheriffs establish'd, he could no longer think any honest Man safe ; and had therefore hid himself there, having first made what Preparations were needful for a sudden Rising : That many Thousands were ready in the City to Master the Gates, and attack *Whitehal* : That they within were to be assisted from the Countries adjacent with 1000 or 1200 Horse under good Officers. Only he complained of the Duke of *Monmouth's*, and the other great Mens backwardnes, who had promised, by Rising in other remote Counties at the same time, to give a Diversion to the standing Forces.

The Sum of this the Lord *Howard* the next day Communicated to the said Duke ; who also on

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his part complain'd of the Earl of Shaftsbury's acting of late on a separate Bottom, and that his present Fears had blinded his usual Prudence ; and therefore he required a speedy Meeting with him, to re-establish a better Understanding and Union of Counsels between them all for the future.

This discourse being reported back to the said Earl, he replied, *His People were impatient of longer delays, having advanc'd so far, that there was no retreat ; the Design being imparted to so many, that it was impossible but it would quickly take Air.* Upon this he proceeded to declare his vehement suspicion of the Duke of Monmouth ; *That his Dilatoriness proceeded from some private Correspondence between him and his Majesty : That it was to be fear'd the said Duke acted with a prospect very different from theirs ; only minding the advancement of himself : whereas his own Resolutions were, that since it was now manifest their Liberties were no more to be secur'd but under a Commonwealth, he alone with his Interest would attempt the Deliverance of his Country : If the rest of the Lords would concur with him, they might share in the Glory ; else he hoped he should be able to effect the Work without them, by the help of an honest brisk Party in the City.*

Upon this Answer the Duke of Monmouth, suspecting that before their People could be ready in the Country, the Earl of Shaftsbury's unseasonable Anxiety for his own Safety might put him on attempting some rash Action in London, which would be easily quell'd by the form'd and disciplin'd Guards, and so the whole Design might be stifled in a moment ; he did therefore the more earnestly press the Lord Howard to make another essay to procure an Interview. The

The Lord *Howard* did so, and get from the said Earl a promise of meeting the Confederate Lords the next Day in the Evening ; which yet, when the time came, he put off with an excuse by Colonel *Ramsey*.

However, some Days after they did meet ; their Differences were in some measure plac'd up, and they began to act jointly again towards a speedy Insurrection.

To this purpose several Days were proposed. One about the latter end of October, but it was delay'd a little longer, till the concurrence of the several Counties could be signified up. Then that of Queen *Elizabeth*, being November 17. was named, but rejected, because all his Majesties Guards were commonly in Arms to watch and suppress the wonted Tumults of the Rabble on that Day.

At last the Nineteenth of November was fixt on ; which happening that Year to be on a Sunday, whilst some excepted against it for that reason, *Ferguson* with his usual impious Virulency, reply'd, *That the Sanctity of the Day was suitable to the Sanctity of the Work.*

The Day being thus determin'd, they all presently fell to prepare as their several parts were allotted : Especially the great Managers held Assemblies to receive Accounts, how the Counties were dispos'd, and to consult upon surprizing the Guards ; for which end the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Gray*, and Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, undertook to view the posture of their Quarters, and reported back to their Principals, *That the seizing them was a thing very feasible*, which very particular

cular the Duke of *Monmouth* afterwards confess'd in so many words to his Majesty, when he rendred himself.

In the mean time the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was very uneasie, and weary of lurking in Holes, where every sound and breath of Air began to frighten him. Wherefore with repeated and importunate Messages he press'd the other Lords to keep to their Day ; expostulating with them upon their former slowness, whereby they had lost so many advantageous Opportunities. The case being now so much alter'd, that he, who once presum'd his driving out the King would prove but a leisurely walk to him ; when the danger drew near himself, was become so apprehensive, and rash, as not to afford his own wicked Coun-sels leisure enough to come to any tolerable Maturity.

At length one Day, when their great Council about *London* was assembled at *Shepard's House* in *Abchurch-Lane*, the said Earl sent Colonel *Romzey* to quicken their Debates, and once for all to learn the result of their final Determinations. But they having just before received several Advices out of the West, that their Friends there, especially in *Taunton* and *Devonshire*, could not possibly be ready on so short a warning, presently sent him back such word ; concluding it could not be helpt, but he and they must be content to respite the time of Execution to a longer day.

This positive Answer broke all his Measures, and made him instantly resolve to leave *England*. Wherefore first he remov'd his lodging into *Wapping* ; Then, the very Night that place was Burnt,

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being also the Night of the same 19th Day of November on which he had expected to set the whole Nation in a Flame, he privately sculk'd down the River; Attended only by the two chief Complices and Witnesses of his Treasons, *Walcot* and *Ferguson*; the latter of them having been forc'd for some time before to abscond too, because of a Warrant out against him, for Publishing some one, or other of his many Treasonable Pamphlets.

That was the last considerable Effort made by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, against the King and Kingdom. After this, nothing more was heard of him, but that being got into *Holland* in a Panick fright, he lived obscurely and soon after died in *Amsterdam*; having few or no other Companions of the last part of his Life, but several miserable English and Scotch Fugitives, who had formerly been the Instruments of his Trayterous Practices, and were forc'd to fly the stroke of Justice, on that Account: So that he could not but know, that all those about him in his Sickness and Death, had Just reason to hate, and curse him, as their principal Seducer and cause of their Ruine.

Nor can such an end of such a Life be justly reflected on, without a special Adoration of the secret Counsels of the Divine Providence. That he, who a little before was generally esteem'd the Head, and Protector of all the Factious in the Kingdom, whom he vouchsafed to distinguish and Honour by the Title of Worthy Men, and the Terror and Scourges of all the Good, and the Loyal, whom he mark'd out, and design'd for

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Destruction and Slaughter , under the Name of Men worthy : He who, in his own conceit, had so much the absolute disposal of the Hearts and Hands of all the Disaffected, as to be able to subvert the Establish'd Government , when he pleased , and had really once gone very far to effect it , had not his own Presumption Defeated his Malice ; That this very Man, having seen all his hopes, and contrivances dash'd in Pieces at home, should have nothing left to do, but to take shelter, in that Commonwealth , which in his former Greatness, he had so mortally provok'd ; there to lead a Life of Disgrace and Misery, and to Dye neglected in a Country of which he had formerly express'd so great a Hatred : And yet still retaining so much Venemous Rancour against his most Gracious Master, as to profess with his last Breath, that he had deservedly receiv'd his Deaths Wound, meaning the bruise in his Side and now his Death in that Country, where he had done his own so much Mischief ; When he was one of the Commissioners sent thither, in the Year 1660, to invite his Majesty home freely and without Terms.

After this, though the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was gone, yet the impressions of Mischief he had left behind on the minds of the Confederates, would not so easily vanish. They soon reflected on his last advise, that so, many having been made Conscious to the Design, they should certainly find more safety in pushing it on boldly, than in too late a Retreat. Upon this immediately they recover'd their Spirits and Resolution, which his hasty flight had somewhat Damp'd ; thenceforth they renew'd their Consultations with greater vigour than before :

before : The Principal Managers having their frequent Meetings, as also the inferior Instruments theirs ; whilst some of each Number gave secret intimations to the other of what was passing in their separate Assemblies.

Of the great Council of Six, the Consults that have been hitherto plainly testifi'd and sworn to, were those at Mr. Hambdens, at the Lord Russells, and at Mr. Shepherds. The Subordinate Cabals were kept in divers places in and about the City ; As in the December of that Year, at Colonel Romzey's House in the Soho Square ; in the next February at West's Chamber in the Temple, about which time it was agreed that Ferguson should be sent for, as he was, and came over accordingly. Then their Meetings were more frequent upon the Kings being at Newmarket, and after : Usually at West's Lodgings, for the convenience of its situation ; Or in common Taverns ; As at the Miter within Aldgate ; The Horse-Shoe on Tower-Hill ; The Fortune at Wapping ; The Syracusa-House ; The Kings-head in Atheist-Alley ; the Salutation and the George in Lombard-Street on June the Twelfth, the very Day of the Discovery, they met at the Sun-Tavern behind the Exchange ; on June 14 they met at Baileys of Jerviswood's Chamber, and again in Bartholomew-Lane, and at the Green-Dragon on Snow-hill ; and so continued to do some where or other, till they totally dispers'd from Walcot's Lodging in Goodman's Fields.

Their Meetings being so generally in places of Publick Entertainment ; Therefore to prevent the Observation of Drawers and Servants, they
often

often discours'd of their whole Bloody Business, in a Canting Language of their own making.

The King was sometimes call'd the *Church-Warden of Whitehall*: The King and Duke the *Black-Bird* and the *Gold Finch*; the Captain and Lieutenant. Provisions of Arms, as *Blunderbusses*, *Muskets*, *Pistols*, were talk'd of, under the disguis'd Names of *Swan-Quills*, *Goose-Quills*, *Crow-Quills*. The Insurrection was styled the *General Point*, the Assassination the *Lopping Point*, and striking at the Head. And because several of the Conspirators were Lawyers, it was sometimes agreed, that their wicked intentions against the King and the Duke, should be veil'd under the terms of Disseising him in Possession, and barring him in Remainder: At other times the Killing of both pass'd for executing a Bargain and Sale, as being a short manner of conveyance; and the Rising in Arms, as the longer, and more tedious way, for executing a Lease and Release. The Villains thus wantonly abusing the Innocent Terms of the excellent Profession of the common Laws of *England*, to cover their horrid Designs against his Majesties Person and Crown, whose Preservation and Prosperity is the great end, and sense of all those Laws.

But for the most part, when they were free and amongst themselves, they discours'd of the whole enterprize in plain language, and without reserve: their common Healths being such as these; *To the Man who first draws his Sword against Popery and Slavery, in defence of the Protestant Religion. Confusion to the two Brothers, Popery and Slavery*; explaining the same to be means of
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the Royal Brothers of Whitehal: And when some of them, who were less harden'd in Cruelty, express'd some kind of consternation and dread of the Consequences of so dire a Stroak, and desir'd the Infamy of it might be thrown on the Papists; others, particularly Ferguson, declared, *They thought the Action too good to have the Papists carry away the Honour of it;* and often applauded it as a Glorious Work; *That it would be an Admonition to all Princes to take heed how they Oppressed their Subjects;* *That he hoped to see the Fact remarded by a Parliament, and the Actors in it have the Honour of Statues erected to them, and the Title of Preservers of their Country.* So also when Nethrop, Wakot and some few others readily declar'd themselves willing to joyn in the Insurrection; but shrunk a little at first at the horrour of the Assassination, R. Rumbald and R. Goodenough with monstrous impiety maintain'd the Kings and the Dukes Murder as the more pious Design of the two, and recommended it as keeping one of the Ten Commandments, and the best way to prevent shedding Christian Blood.

In these their private Cabals, the Matters they promiscuously treated of, were either a general Insurrection, or the Assassination of the Kings and his Royal Highnesses Persons. Of the Assassination divers ways were consulted, till they fix'd on that of the Rye. The Insurrection was proposed to be made at the same time in England and Scotland. The adjusting that part of it, which related to Scotland, was chiefly under the care of the Council of Six, and manag'd by Commissioners of both Nations sitting in London: All

which Particulars are so circumstantially set forth, so often repeated, and demonstrably confirm'd in the ensuing Evidences, that it will be sufficient here only to direct the Readers Observation, by giving a brief Summary of the whole.

Towards an Insurrection throughout *England*, they laid the greatest stress on the City of *London*; not doubting but if that were once secur'd to them, the rest of the Nation must of course fall in; taking encouragement and example in this, as in many other things, from the cursed Methods of the Unnatural Rebellion in the late Kings time.

The City of *London* therefore was carefully divided by them into Twenty parts; and to that purpose one of the largest Maps of the City and Liberties was hung up in *West's Chamber*, the most usual place of their Rendezvouzes; the making the several Partitions and Allotments of the whole, being committed to *Richard Goodenough*, who by reason of his universal acquaintance, as having been so often Under-Sheriff, was judg'd the fittest Man of the whole Party for that Work.

The City being thus divided, it was agreed, that every Division should be assign'd to some one principal Man of greatest Trust, Courage and Conduct; each of those Twenty was to chuse Nine or Ten, or more, in whom they could confide. These were to have the inspection of the several Under-walks, and from time to time to make returns of their Numbers and Strength; and when the List was finish'd, it was to be communicated to the supreme Managers.

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By this means they made no question but they should have a select Body of at least Eight or Ten Thousand approved and well appointed Men to make the first Onset ; Goodenough alone having assur'd them , that out of seven Divisions only , there were 13000 Resolute Men prepar'd to be ready at an hours warning .

For the increasing their Numbers, and drawing in new Converts, this one general Rule was carefully prescribed, That the bottom of the Design should in the beginning be warily conceal'd from all Persons with whom they treated. First their Inclinations were to be try'd by gradual Insinuations, and plausible Discourses at a distance, till they had gain'd a full assurance of their Fidelity. They were to be ask'd, *What they would, or could do, in case of a Foreign Invasion?* When it was answer'd, *They would readily assist against any Common Enemy.* Then it was next to be demanded, *Whether they would contribute the assistance of their Persons, or Purses, or both?* That being also determined, it was to be farther inquired, *What Furniture of Arms, Horses, and Money they had in readiness? What Friends they could engage?* And if these Questions were resolved according to their Minds, then the whole Mystery of the Villany was to be frankly disclosed. They were to be told in down-right terms, *That there was already an Oppression and Force upon all they had; That there was an actual Invasion on the English Liberties, Properties and Consciences.* That the only Obligation the Subject has to the King, is a Mutual Covenant; *That this Covenant was manifestly broken on the King's part;* *That therefore* *all T* *set out either to aid the*

the People were free from all Oaths, or other tyes of Fealty and Allegiance, and had the Natural Liberty restored to them of asserting their own Rights, and as justly at least against a Domestick, as against Foteign Invaders.

The way being thus made to sound and prepare the Dispositions of ill Men for any Violent Enterprize ; the next thing that came under Deliberation was Money : For that, several of the particular Conspirators declared, they had considerable Sums of their own, or deposited with them, which were ready, and might be call'd for on Occasion ; That great Subscriptions had been made of divers Thousands of Pounds, which when the time of Action drew near, were to be distributed amongst the Chief of the Twenty Divisions ; That this would be enough to make provision for a sudden Push : But if the busines succeed'd, Half a Years Rent of the Chimney-Mony would be due, besides what the Excise-Office and the Custom-House might afford : That all the Money and Plate in Lombard-street, and what was in the possession of the Bankers, Goldsmiths, and other Wealthy Men in London, or the Suburbs, was either to be seiz'd on as a just Forfeiture, or Borrowed under the Name of the Old, and Antiquated Cheat of the Publick Faith. Particularly Ferguson, whose constant Custom it was, in all their Consults, to out-do all the rest by some peculiar Circumstance of Cruelty of his own Invention, added on this Head, That little or nothing was to be expected from the Old Rich Citizens ; that therefore Five or Six of them were to be kill'd at first, and their Estates given to the Mobile, to terrifie the rest.

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The next necessary Provision they debated on was Arms. And it is notoriously known, the whole Party had for a long time before, been gathering great abundance of all Sorts. All probably with the same prospect, and in the same Proportion for their Parts in the Conspiracy, as the Lord Gray had done for his, though they happen'd not all to be so manifestly detected. For a good while before any Conspiracy was suspected by his Majesty, or his Ministers, the said Lord was found to have by him, hid under other Common Furniture in a dark Garret, above Fourscore Compleat Arms in his Private City-House, where no open Robbery or Assault could be fear'd; and by consequence, there could not be the least shadow of pretence that they were laid in there for his own lawful use or defence.

But besides these Stores, which they had every one made for themselves; it was resolv'd at the very first to attempt the Publick Magazines in and about the City; Particularly that in the *Artillery-Ground*, where a considerable Number of Excellent Arms were commonly kept without a Guard, for the frequent exercises of the Citizens.

Many thoughts also were spent how to engage the Seamen to their Side. To this end several Riotous Meetings were made at *Wapping*, the greatest Men amongst them not disdaining there to Feast and Cajole the Rabble; often styling that Scum of People they there met with, their honest *Wapping Friends*. Besides this, some Sea Captains were tamper'd with, and a Golden Ball was proposed to be hurl'd upon *Black-Heath*; none questioning but the Seamen assembled at that sport,

would declare for them as one Man ; upon a groundless fancy , that they were of themselves highly discontented , and ready to Mutiny for want of Pay .

Though it must be said , and his Majesty does hereby publickly own , that their Practises with the Seamen met with the least success of any . Nor is it imaginable , the brave Race of English Mariners should ever prove false to his Majesty , who has cherish'd , encourag'd , and promoted that Profession more than all the Kings of *England* have done since the Conquest ; his Majesty well understanding that the Safety , Riches and Honour of this Kingdom depend most on its Maritime Greatness .

However , the Conspirators not in the least doubting but they should have sufficient Numbers to make a stand , and give time to others to come in , and declare ; their Rendezvous were appointed in the chief Piazza's , and most of the convenient Posts of *London* and *Westminster* ; whence they might at once Attack the *Bridge* , the *Exchanges* , the Guards , the *Savoy* , *Whitehal* and the *Tower* ; and they had ready in Town about 100 of *Crommel's* old Officers to Head and Govern the mixt Multitude as soon as they should appear in Arms .

At the same time a Party of 500 Horse was to come out of the Country to scour the Streets ; and immediately Barricadoes were to be made : the Horses of Hackney - Coaches , and other Strangers were to be seiz'd on : the Horse - Guards not actually mounted to be surpriz'd in their several Stables :

Stables : the Churches to be broken open , and used as St. Pauls was in the late times.

Ferguson had also often assur'd them, he could promise for three hundred Scots to be ready at a day ; affirming, that such a Number, most of them Bothwel-Bridge Men, resided about Town, as Journey-men in divers Trades, and were to be commanded by Ten or Twelve Gentlemen of that Nation : Adding, that some hundreds more went about the Country with Packs, taking that way to get and carry Intelligence, as well as for a Liveli-hood.

Upon supposition of this Strength, Whitehal was to be assaulted at once by one Party from the Strand, by another on the back-side from West-minster, and on the River by Water-Men in Boats with Hand-Granadoes. And in confidence that his Majesty and the whole Court would speedily either be taken or fly, there were distinct Parties assign'd to way-lay them on the Road either to Windsor or Portsmouth.

Their principal Aim being to surprize the Tower, as a place most able to annoy them, and where there lay great Magazines and Stores of Ammunition to furnish them, they had many Debates of Stratagems proposed on that subject.

One was to be perform'd by Night, by firing a parcel of Fagots to burn down the Gates, whilst a strong Party without was to be ready to make a brisk Attack in the first Confusion of the Garrison.

Another to be Executed about Two in the Afternoon, thus ; One party privately Arm'd was to go see the Armory, another the Lions : The first

first to return into the Sutler's House by the Gate : At the same time, some were to come in Coaches on pretence of visiting the Lords then Prisoners : Those in the Sutler's House were to Issue out, and kill a Horse, or overthrow a Coach just in the passage. Then both parties to joyn, and seize on the Guards ; and by a sign given, upon the Coaches over-turning, Two or Three Hundred Men, lodg'd in Houses thereby, were to come in and Second the rest.

Another was, that some of the Conspirators, as Constables, and Officers of Justice, should bring in others as Offendors, and that several should enter feined Actions one against the other in St. Catharines-Court, then held in the Tower : On the Court Day others were to come in as Plaintiffs, Defendants, and Witnesses, who joyning with those that seem'd to come out of Curiosity, all these might be seconded by a like party prepar'd from without ; the over-turning a Coach being likewise made use of in this Case. Which soever of these ways should happen to be attempted : The Lord Dartmouth, Master-General of the Ordnance was immediately to be dispatch'd, as one whose Bravery and Courage they fear'd would prompt him to Blow up the Great Magazine of Powder there, and so Bury them with himself in the Ruine, if he found he could not otherways resist them.

Besides securing to themselves by these means the Cities of London and Westminster, which was their greatest Care ; they had also under Consideration the Raising Commotions at the same time in divers others parts of England : Especially in those Counties

Counties of the *West* and *North*, which they believed the Duke of Monmouth's Progresses had most inclined to their Faetious Interest.

In every County some one Great Man was to put himself at the Head of the Rebellion, and divers of them had their proper Stations appointed.

Particularly of *Newcastle* they made themselves sure ; and laid great stress upon it , by reason of its vicinity to *Scotland*, and the influence its Coal-Pits have on the City of *London*.

In *Cheshire* they depended on a numerous assistance ; that being the County, in which the Earl of *Schaftsbury* had formerly advised the Insurrection should begin, and a Free Parliament be declar'd for, at the time of the Duke of Monmouth's going thither in one of his Mock-Triumphs.

Portsmouth was to be attempted by some going into the Town on pretence of seeing the place ; at the same time another Party coming in on the Market-day , disguis'd like Country-Men , and both together were to fall on the Guards.

From *Taunton* they expected great Numbers, rememb'ring the old Disloyalty of the Inhabitants, which they had evidenc'd by a most remarkable insolence ; having presumed for some Years after his Majesties most happy Restoration, to keep solemnly a Day of Thanksgiving to God for raising the Siege which his Father had laid against the Parliaments Rebellious Forces in that Town.

In *Bristol* they had secured a good Party, which they doubted not might easily Master the City ; as manifestly appears by the full Confession of *Holloway* Citizen of *Bristol* , which he freely made

upon his very first Examination, and afterwards confirm'd at his Execution, when he could not have the least hope of Pardon to be obtain'd thereby.

At the same time when they were making these Preparations for an Insurrection, the other design of Assassinating his Majesty and his Royal Highness kept equal pace with it.

It is manifest that some of these very Men had often before devised the Kings and his Royal Brothers Murder divers ways. For besides what *Hone* confess'd of the Proposal to shoot them from *Bow-Steeple*; and another Project of destroying them the next Lord Mayor's Day before, which was laid aside upon notice that his Majesty and his Brother intended not to be there; and besides *Richard Rumbald's* Invention of blowing up the Play-House, when they should both be present; the said *Rumbald* inform'd his Confederates, that he and some of his Friends had resolv'd to cut off the King and the Duke in their Journey to, or from *Newmarket*, above ten Years before; and had layn sometime in ambush to that purpose, but without effect, because, as God would have it, his Majesty and his Royal Brother then unexpectedly went the other way through the Forest; which, as the Wretch himself could not but observe, they have seldom or never done before or since.

And now also, upon this occasion, divers ways of performing the Assassination were debated. One was to make the attempt on them in St. James's Park, as they were passing privately, and sometimes almost alone to St. James's.

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Another, how they should be going down the River for their Divertisement, either to sink the Barge by one hitting it with an Hoy, or by boarding it on a sudden, and shooting out some Planks with Blunderbusses.

Another, to plant Men in the Pit at the *Play-House*, who should be ready to shoot at them unawares, with Pocket Blunderbusses, two of which *Rumzey* sent his to Majesty.

Another, to do it in their return thence to Whitehal, under Bedford-Wall, in *Covent-Garden*; where one part of the Assassines might walk unsuspected in the Piazza, a Second within the Rails, a Third in the Church-Porch; and all issue forth in an Instant, to compass the Coaches, and dispatch the Busines, or do the Trick, as they styl'd it.

It was also proposed to be undertaken between *Windsor* and *Hampton-Court*, or in their going to *Winchester*, or if the Royal Brothers should happen to be present at the Bull-Feast in *Red-Lyon-Fields*.

But all these other propositions, as subject to far more Casualties and Hazards, soon gave place to that of the *Rye* in *Hartfordshire*: A House then inhabited by the foresaid *Richard Rumbald*; who proposed that to be the Seat of the Action, offering himself to Command the Party, that was to do the Work. Him therefore, as their most daring Captain, and by reason of a Blemish, in one of his Eyes, they were afterwards wont, in Common Discourse, to call *Hannibal*: Often Drinking Healths to *Hannibal and his Boys*; meaning *Rumbald* and his Hellish Crew.

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The commodiousness of the *Rye* for any such desperate Enterprize soon incourag'd them to fix it there: Its lonely and retir'd Situation, and the Inclosures about it being such as would afford all advantages imaginable to the Assailants, and give as great Inconveniences to the Persons attacked.

The place being agreed on, it was first question'd, whether the stroke should be struck, upon his Majesties going to, or coming from *Newmarket*: But it was thought more expedient to defer it till his Majesties return.

That point being over, they had several Meetings, to consult of all the Circumstances of the Parricide.

The Number of the Men to be personally engaged were Forty at Least, to that end two or three Lists of Names were drawn up, out of which the choice was to be made, and the Roll was neer completed.

The Arms to be used were Blunderbusses, Muskets, Pistols, Carabines. To get them down thither without suspicion, many ways were thought on. One, to put them up in Chests, and bring them by Land in Carts. Another, to hide them in a Boat, under Coals, or Oysters, or such common Lading, and so to convey them up the River of *Ware*. Another, that every one concern'd should go down privily Arm'd, and so all Travelling in small Parties, scatter'd, and at their leisure, they might easily meet unperceived about the *Rye*; at the time prefixt.

When the Fatal Hour should approach, the attempt was agreed to be made in this manner. Some one or two were to be sent forth on the Road towards

towards Newmarket, to discover in which Coach the King came, and what Company attended him; which they well knew was commonly no more than some six of the Guards; and those also were supposed to have their Horses weak, and almost tired by that time they came thither, so near Hodsdon, one of the usual Stages where his Majesty was wont to change Coaches and Guards.

Upon warning thus given of the Kings being near at hand, all were to be in readiness within the House and Yards to issue forth in a moment, some on Horseback, some on Foot.

Immediately upon the Coaches coming within the Gates and Hedges about the House, the Conspirators were to divide into several Parties: Some before in the habit of Labourers were to overthrow a Cart in the narrowest passage, so to prevent all possibility of escape: Others were to fight the Guards, *Walcot* chusing that part upon a Punctilio of Honour: Others were to shoot at the Coachman, Postilion and Horses: Others to aim only at his Majesties Coach, which party was to be under the particular direction of *Rumbald* himself; the Villain declaring before-hand, That upon that occasion he would make use of a very good Blunderbuss, which was in *West's* possession, most blasphemously adding, that *Ferguson* should first consecrate it.

It is indeed a thing prodigious to tell, and were it not for the undeniable proofs of it, very difficult to be believ'd, that not only one or two such Furies should rise up in a whole Age, but that so great a Number of Men should, in the same time and place, be found so void of all Humanity, as

not only to imagine and contrive so horrid a Fact, but to discourse of it in so many Meetings, so sportfully and merrily as they did, as if the cruellest Tragedy which wicked Men or the Devil ever invented, had been only a matter of common pastime and loose raillery. Thus when at one of their Consults *West* invited *Rumzey* to be Godfather to his Child, he answered, *He would, if he might be allow'd to call him Brutus.* And when it was once proposed to Kill the King and the Duke at the *Play-House*, by blowing up the whole Audience with them, *Ferguson* approved the way, and impudently said, *That then they would Die in their own Calling.* And when some objected against it, *That by this means the Innocent would perish with the Nocent;* another justified it, saying, *What did the Jack-Daws do amongst the Rooks?* And when some proposed that to give a better colour to what they did, the King and Duke should not be killed, but only seiz'd and brought to Tryal, after that the People had got the better; It was answer'd by *Ferguson*, *That it was never thought Injustice to shoot, or set Traps for Wolves and Tygers.*

The execrable Deed being thus suppos'd by them to be feasible without much Opposition, they then farther consider'd the several ways of their escaping afterwards. Sometimes they thought of retreating towards *Cambridgeshire*, and scattering there; sometimes of retiring into the *Rye-House*, which being guarded with a Moat, and Brick-Walls, they doubted not to defend it against the frighted Country People for some Hours till Night, when they might shift for themselves, and disperse. Another way that *Rumbald* himself proposed,

proposed, was to lead them out of the great Road through the Meadows, which were to be gallop'd all along ; so that they might with ease come into *London* by *Hackney-Marsh*, before the News of what was done could possibly get thither. It was concluded at the same time, that divers Lords, and principal Men of their Party, should be invited to an Entertainment that very day in the City, that they might be upon the place to Head the Faction at the first arrival of the News.

But whilst they were thus wholly intent on this barbarous Work, and proceeded securely in its Contrivance, without any the least doubt of a prosperous success ; Behold ! on a sudden God miraculously disappointed all their Hopes and Designs, by the terrible Conflagration, unexpectedly breaking out at *Newmarket*. In which extraordinary event, there was one most remarkable passage, that is not so generally taken notice of, as for the Glory of God, and the Confusion of his Majesties Enemies it ought to be.

For after that the approaching fury of the Flames had driven the King out of his own Palace, his Majesty at first removed into another Quarter of the Town, remote from the Fire, and as yet free from any annoyance of Smoke and Ashes. There his Majesty finding he might be tolerably well accommodated, had resolved to stay, and continue his Recreations as before, till the Day first named for his Journey back to *London*. But his Majesty had no sooner made that resolution, when the Wind, as conducted by an invisible Power from above, presently chang'd about, and blew the Smoke and Cinders directly on his new Lodgings,

ings, making them in a moment as untenable as the other. Upon this, his Majesty being put to a new shift, and not finding the like Conveniency else-where, immediately declared he would speedily return to *Whitehal*; as he did: which happening to be several days before the Assassines expected him, or their preparations for the *Rye* were in readiness, it may justly give occasion to all the World to acknowledge what one of the very Conspirators could not but do, *That it was a Providential Fire.*

Now upon the first notice in Town of the Fire at *Newmarket*, and that by consequence the King would be necessitated to come home sooner than was imagin'd, the principal Assassines were summon'd by *Ferguson* to a Meeting that very Night.

They at first receiv'd the News with various Apprehensions and Motions of Mind, looking on one another with much Astonishment and Confusion. Amongst the rest, *Walcot* acknowledg'd, *He thought it an Expression of Gods disapproving the Undertaking*: whilst *Ferguson*, without any sign of the least relenting, said, *That he perceiv'd God had reserv'd his Majesty for his own Judgment*. However that Evening they generally agreed, That since Arms, Horses and Men could not be provided in so short a space, because the King was daily expected, and the day of his coming uncertain, therefore all farther thoughts of the business should be laid aside for that time.

Yet the next Morning, the Company being again assembled, upon Reports spread abroad that his Majesty purpos'd to retire to *Cambridge*, and stay there some days, *Ferguson* vehemently insist-ed,

ed, That the Design should instantly be reassum'd ; That what could be, should be done in so narrow a time. And particularly Armstrong offer'd himself to go down in person to the Rye in order to it, if a Sum of Money could be presently rais'd, and a competent number of Men got together.

But the noise of the Cambridge Journey soon vanishing, put an end to those Deliberations ; though it was a constant expectation and whisper among the Party, that something extraordinary would be done on the very day of his Majesties coming home.

In these uncertainties they remain'd till the King came ; and some days after R. Rumbald returning from the Rye, increas'd their rage for this defeat, by telling them, That he saw his Majesty and his Royal Highness pass by his House but very slenderly guarded, only with five or six Persons, and those tired, and ill appointed ; so that he doubted not but with the like number of stout and well-arm'd Men, he might easily have taken them both off.

Upon this, presently after at their next Meetings it was agreed, That to prepare against any such disappointment for the future, a sufficient Number of Arms should be bought, and kept in readiness for any other opportunity, if such could be found during any of his Majesties Journeys that Summer ; or at farthest in his next going to Newmarket.

To this purpose West told them he was acquainted with a very good Gun-smith, and took upon himself to provide the Arms ; Ferguson engaging to pay the Money for them.

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Accordingly *West* bought Thirty Case of Pistols, Thirty Carabines, and Ten Blunderbusses of one *Daft a Gun-smith in Shooe-Lane*; and *Ferguson* paid him for them about three weeks before the Discovery.

West's pretence of buying so great a quantity of Arms, was to send them into *America*, where he had a Plantation; and to disguise the business the better, he caus'd them to be sanguin'd, in shew to preserve them from Rust in so long a Voyage, and had them made up in Sea-Chests, as ready to be Transported.

So they continu'd till after the noise of *Keeling's* having betray'd all. Then *West* to avoid suspicion sent them to a Sea-Captain, setting Sail for the *West-Indies*, but without any Bill of Lading or Consignment, as is usual; in whose Custody the Arms were seiz'd, and delivered into his Majesties Stores, to be there kept for a better use.

In these their several Consults many casual Discourses interven'd, relating indifferently either to the Insurrection or Assassination: As, What Commissions were at first requisite to be given out, and in what style they were to run. What Declaration was to be immediately publish'd to justify the Fact. What Project of Government to be pitch'd on, and settled afterwards.

It was agreed that the Commissions for this Nation should be issued forth in the Name of the Confederate Lords and Commons of *England*.

For preparing a Declaration, divers of their Number were order'd to bring in their Conceptions apart, out of all which Collection, a compleat

plete Remonstrance was to be gather'd by some of their ablest Heads. The main drift of the whole was to amuse the Peoples Fancies for a Time with new Chimeras of Freedom from Taxes, and Advantages for Trade, and Moderation of Law Expenses, and a Toleration of all Sects; then to calumniate the Royal Family for divers Generations past, to asperse his Majesty as a Tyrant and Oppressor, and to accuse all his Faithful Subjects, as servile Instruments of Arbitrary Power, and Betrayers of their Country: Whilst they and their Party were to be magnified, as the only Asserters and Restorers of Liberties, Properties, and the True Protestant Religion. Their design in all this being the same that has been constantly put in practise by all promoters of Sedition and Treason in all Ages; Who have always thought they have done more than Half their business, if they can but once appropriate to themselves all the Good and pleasing Words of things plausible and popular; and fasten on the Government the Names and Titles of things vulgarly odious, or contemptible.

Touching the new Form of Government to be set up in stead of the old, they were not altogether so unanimous, that being also natural to all Schisms and Factions, that tho' they may sometimes agree in what they would ruine, yet they never did, nor can long consent in what they shall settle.

Some were still for retaining a shew of Monarchy, though with such Restrictions as would make the Prince little better than a Duke of *Venice.*

Others

Others were positively for a Common-Wealth, and the entire subversion of the present constitution, openly declaring, it was their purpose not only to change Names, but Things.

Nay upon this point, some of them doubted not frequently to profess in plain Terms, *That if their great Darling, the Duke of Monmouth, should be squeamish, as they worded it, in approving and Confirming what had been done in Heat of Blood, then he himself should fare no better than the rest, when their Swords were in their Hands.*

A sufficient Admonition to all Men of Quality and Estate, how hazardous their condition is, and how mean their Servitude, whilst they are heading popular Tumults; tho for a little time perhaps they may seem to others, and fancy themselves, to have an absolute sway over them.

But their particular Head of Discourse in which the Conspirators chiefly delighted, and were wont in their Meetings most amply to enlarge their inventions, was concerning their resolutions of several kinds of vengeance to be Executed on those Eminent Persons of all Professions, whom they thought most capable and willing to oppose their Bloody Enterprize.

In that part indeed their Passion transported them beyond all bounds of common Prudence, even to the highest Degree of ridiculous Vanity, and extravagant Ostentation of their full assurance to succeed in the dire Attempt.

Having first Gloried in the Imagination of imbruining their Hands in Royal Blood, they scrupled not to profess they would continue the Assassination on all the principal Officers of the Crown, and

and Ministers of Justice ; and spightfully projected all Circumstances imaginable which they thought might aggravate the Terrore or Ignominy of their Punishment.

Sir John More, the Lord Mayor of the former Year, and Sir William Pritchard the Lord Mayor, and Mr. North and Mr. Rich the Sheriffs of that present Year, were concluded fit to be Murder'd, and their Skins stuff'd and hung up in *Guild-Hall*, for a dreadful Warning to Posterity.

Alderman Cornish or Gould was to be declared Lord Mayor ; Papillion and Dubois Sheriffs : If they refused, they were to undergo as bad a fate. Some others also were doom'd to the like destiny, who might think they deserved well of the Faction by their Moderation. But they resolved that Neuters should be treated as ill as their most avow'd Enemies.

Most of the Judges were to be kill'd for their pretended Illegal and Arbitrary Judgments, and their Skins in the same manner hung up in *Westminster-Hall*.

Some of the principal Abhorers, Addressers, and reputed Pensioners in the late Long Parliament, (under which Titles in their Modern Opprobrious Language they had been us'd to comprehend the most steddy Adherents to the Crown, and True Sons of the Church of England) were to be brought to Tryal, and Death : The Skins too of those they styled Pensioners were to be hung up in the House of Commons.

The Churcli-men they hated, and despis'd in general, as Men whose Interest could never be divided from the Crown, and of course would fall with it.

The Marquis of *Hallifax*, the Duke of *Beaufort*, the Earl of *Rochester*, Sir *Leolyn Jenkins*, the Lord Keeper, and divers others who had been his Majesties most faithful Councillors in the time of extream hazard, were nam'd as Men whose Destruction was certain, and who could not possibly escape the first rage of the Massacre. Particularly it was determin'd the Lord Keeper should be sent to *Oxford*, and hang'd on the same Gallows on which the Infamous *College* had been Executed.

In this furious manner they proceeded to lay about them in their common Discourses with all the Infernal Malice that is so agreeable to their Principles, and inseparable from them ; there never having yet been found, in all Records of Time, any pretended Conscientious Zeal, but it was always most certainly attended with a fierce Spirit of implacable Cruelty.

During all this time, as it cannot be imagin'd that either of the Cabals was altogether unacquainted with what the other was doing ; so it is manifest, some of their great Men understood the dark Hints that were sometimes given them, of *Striking at the Head*, and *Shortning the Work by removing two Persons* : And also that these Inferior Instruments proceeded on assurance, That when they came to Action, they should be Headed by Men of much higher Quality and Condition than as yet openly appear'd amongst them.

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Wherefore of the Debates and Resolutions of their great Council, thus much has been already testified upon Oath : That shortly after that the Earl of Shaftesbury fled, it was thought expedient, for the furtherance of the Design projected in his time, that a small Select Number of the most eminent Heads of the Party, in and about London and Westminster, should be united into a close Cabal, or secret Council ; who might have their frequent Assemblies, and be ready, on all occasions, to guide and direct the motions of the Lower Agents.

The Persons, who undertook this Universal care and inspection, were the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Essex, the Lord Gray, the Lord Russel, the Lord Howard, Colonel Alernon Sydney, and Mr. John Hambden Junior. Besides that, Romsey, Armstrong, Ferguson, Shepard and some others, were admitted, as occasion serv'd, on some particular Debates.

Their first Meeting was in January of that Year at Mr. Hambden's House : Where some general Heads were propounded of things to be resolv'd on, in their more mature thoughts. As, Where the Insurrection should first be made, in City or Country, or in both at once : What Counties were most disposed for Action : What places would be most proper for their Rendezvous : What Arms were necessary, how to be provided, where to be laid in : What Money needful at first to be rais'd, and where to be deposited, so as to Administer no Ground of Jealousie : And by what means the discontented Party in Scotland might be brought into the Confederacy.

This last was look'd on as the principal Point, and deserving their first Direction. Wherefore at their next Meeting about ten days after, at the Lord *Russel's* House, they began with considering a way of Setling an Intelligence with the Earl of *Argyle* beyond the Seas, and with his Complices in *Scotland*.

Upon this a Messenger was Ordered to be sent into *Scotland*: It was committed to Colonel *Sydney*, to choose the Person, and to furnish him with Instructions.

The Man chosen by Mr. *Sydney*, at the recommendation of *Nelthrop*, for his known merits towards the Cause, was *Aaron Smith*. The Sum given him to defray his Expenses, was Three, or Fourscore Guinea's. The substance of his Message was to invite up Sir *John Cockran*, the *Campbells* of *Cessnock* and some others, to treat in *London*.

Here the Lord *Howard's* Information stops. For then the managers seem'd to agree amongst themselves to have no more constant Assemblies, till the return of the Messenger. Tho since it appears, the said Lord was thereafter excluded from their Consultations, for having been too lavish with his Tongue, in reporting abroad what had been there transacted.

However it has been proved by unquestionable Evidence, that presently after this, *Aaron Smith* did set forth towards *Scotland*, arrived there the Spring of that Year; and by some indiscretion had like to have spoil'd the whole busines: Which to recover, and to remove all suspicions, *Cockran* was forc'd to present himself before the Council of *Scotland*.

After

Afterwards he and his Companions came to Town, and the Negotiation was warmly set on Foot. In the mean time Cockran and the rest often attended at Windsor to make their Court, one day kissing the King's and the Duke's Hands, the next consulting with the English Cabal ; all in shew to sollicit the Interest of Carolina, whilst they really intended a Business of far greater Importance, which was, in their own Language, *To see what could be done for the delivery of the Nations.*

At the same time the late Earl of Argyle for his part had deputed some of his Confidants hitherto attend the issue of those Debates, to represent his Proposals, and to transmit to him the Results of their Counsels ; the whole correspondence between them being veil'd under a style of Merchandise.

The Treaty being thus begun, some general Things were easily agreed on by all sides. The Scots were to rise first; the English to have notice of it with all possible speed, then to second them here: The Rebellion in both Kingdoms to be before Harvest: Arms and Ammunition to be transported out of Holland : Argyle to go with them and Head the Rising. These things being quickly pass'd over, some other Matters endured a longer contest; and one unseasonable Dispute had like to have broken all. The English Commissioners required, *They should presently declare for a Commonwealth and the Extirpation of Monarchy;* which the Scots refused, protesting *The generality of their People would never bearken to that at first.*

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But the great Point on which the Conclusion of the whole depended, was the Sum of Money to be rais'd, and intrusted with the Scots to day out: The Sum at first demanded was Thirty Thousand Pounds; that sunk afterwards to Ten Thousand; But for the raising of this, the English made several delays and scruples, being willing to trust their Scotch Brethren with any thing but Money.

Upon this Contrast the Treaty was often on and off; the Scots talking high, objecting to the English, *That they were only good at Fire-side Plotting*; whereas for their part they were resolv'd to rise, though they had nothing but their Claws to fight with.

At length they came to an Agreement, *That the Ten Thousand Pounds should be rais'd, and put into the Hands of Shepard, who was to return the Bills for it by Ferguson or Baillie to Amsterdam.*

After this manner was the whole Conspiracy going on, when the Discovery overtook it. For now the happy Twelfth of June was come. Joseph Keeling had sworn to his first Deposition before Mr. Secretary Jenkins. But finding that his Majesty and his Ministers were exceeding diffident of his single intelligence in a business of so vast a Moment, he consider'd which way he might best strengthen his Evidence. To that end he prevail'd with Goodenough, who had an entire confidence in him, that his Brother John Keeling might be admitted into the next Meetings of the Conspirators, he himself promising to be answerable for his Secrecy.

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This was done, and thereupon both the Brothers gave in their joint Testimony upon Oath on the 14 of June, touching the progress of the Treason. So they continued to do for a day or two more, till *John Keeling* let fall some Expressions to his Relations, which they whisper'd about among their Fanatick Acquaintance, That, as they call'd it, something was working which might do mischief to honest People.

That being rumour'd about, came quickly to the Knowledge of some of the Conspirators. Upon this they immediately assembled, and *Rumbald* declar'd his Fears of *Keeling's* Treachery, and that were he sure of it, he would instantly get him knock'd on the Head. But *Keeling* coming in amongst them somewhat cheer'd himself, and allay'd their Jealousie, by many asseverations of his fidelity to the common Cause.

Soon after they met again, when it was suggested, that *Keeling* had been seen about *Whitehal* and on the Road to *Windsor* where his Majesty then resided: But *Keeling* still frequenting their Company, renew'd the Protestations of his Innocency; pretended his going to *Whitehal* was upon other business; complain'd he was in great want of Money; upon which one Hundred Pounds, the Sum he told them he stood in need of, was presently rais'd and lent him that Evening, lest his Want should be a Temptation to him.

But their distrust increasing every Hour, it was mention'd to *Keeling*, that the best way for him to render himself unsuspected, would be to withdraw out of Town for some short time, *Rumbald* offering him his House to retire to. *Keeling* still endeav-

endeavour'd by many imprecations to quiet their Suspicions of him; but persisted that he could not go into the Country, by reason of urgent business of his Calling and Family.

So for that time he got safe out of their Hands, which they afterwards extreamly regretted; some of them owning that it was their purpose, if they could have got him abroad, to have kill'd and privately Buried him.

But shortly after this, they heard that Warrants were out against divers of them, and therefore agreed to meet on Monday June 18th, at Walcot's Lodgings in Goodman's-Fields, to consult once for all what should be done for their common safety.

Accordingly at that time there met *Walcot, Norton, Wade, Romzey, the two Goodenoughs, Nelthrop, West, Ferguson*. Their Opinions were very different what course was to be taken. *West* once proposed, that all should stand their ground, and by a bold Denial and their Personal Credit, out-face and baffle *Keelings* single Word. But the consciousness of their own Guilt would not let them harken to that advice.

Wade and some others offer'd, as *Armstrong* had done to some of them just before, That things should still be put to a Push, that if a Thousand Men could be got together and the Duke of *Monmouth* in the Head of them, something might still be done: At the worst it were better for them to Dye like Men, than to be hang'd like Dogs. But that was also rejected as a wild and desperate course. *Romzey* and the rest alledging their Peoples Hearts were down, and accusing

their

their great Men for want of Spirit and Resolution.

Then they determin'd upon flying ; and had some thoughts of hiring a Vessel immediately to transport them into Holland : But finding, on Inquiry, that the Boat could not be clear'd at the Custom House till next Morning, nor at Gravesend till the Afternoon, they concluded that would be too late ; and therefore every Man was left to shift for himself.

So they separated in much Terroir and Confusion. Only *Walcot*, according to the constant sacrilegious way of the whole Party, to intitle the Almighty to their greatest Impieties, said at parting, *God mould yet deliver the Nation, though he did not approve of the present Instruments.* And *Ferguson*, to keep up the same Character of remorseless Villany to the last, took his leave of them in these very words, *That he perceived they were Strangers to this kind of Exercise, but he had been used to fly, and would never be out of a Plot as long as he liv'd; and that he hoped yet to meet some of them at Dunbar before Michaelmas.*

Now a day or two before this their final separation, the King and his Council began to be convinc'd of the truth of *Keeling's Evidence*, by a full knowledge of the Witness's Character, and by the firmness and consistency of his Testimony ; besides many other concurring Circumstances. Wherefore his Majesty order'd Warrants should be issued out against the Persons accus'd, whereof some absconded, others were taken. Of these last, divers confirm'd what *Keeling* had sworn, and named others as Partakers in the Treason.

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Whereupon more and more appearing every day to have been engaged, Proclamations were Publish'd in *England* and *Scotland* for their speedy Apprehension. By this means, through the Providence of God, so many of them were either seiz'd, or deliver'd themselves up, as have irrefragably confirm'd every part of the foregoing Account. What became of the several Conspirators, will appear by the following List.

Of the ENGLISH,

SIR Thomas Armstrong presently after fled beyond the Seas, where he remain'd till the next Year, when he was surpriz'd at *Leyden* in *Holland*, brought into *England*, and received the deserv'd reward of his Horrid Ingratitude and Treasons.

John Aylott fled, and withdrew from Justice, and stands Outlaw'd upon that account.

Andrew Barber was taken and freely confess'd.

Robert Blaney came in, and confess'd what was done and said at the Trayterous Meeting at Colonel Romzey's House.

James Burton fled, and is also Outlaw'd for Treason.

William Blagg a Sea Captain, was taken, try'd and acquitted, there being but one positive Evidence against him.

Zecbary Bourn was seis'd on in *Essex*, as he was making his escape into *Holland*, and largely confess'd afterwards.

Colonel Danvers of *Nemington*, was taken and dismiss'd upon Bail. He has since Publish'd a most Malicious

Malicious and Scandalous Libel against his Majesty : For which he is fled.

The Earl of Essex taken at his House in Hertfordshire and committed Prisoner to the Tower.

Richard and Francis Goodenough, both fled, and since Outlaw'd.

The Lord Gray of Wark was seiz'd on, examin'd before his Majesty, and order'd to be sent to the Tower. But in his going thither, by the negligence of the Serjeant at Arms, he made his escape, got beyond Sea from the Coast of Sussex ; and is now also Outlaw'd.

John Hambden Junior taken, Tryed for High Crimes and Misdemeanors, Condemn'd in 40000 l. Fine, and Imprisonment.

Major Holms taken in London ; he confess'd the Correspondence with the Earl of Argyle, whereof the Key was intrusted with him and some others.

James Holloway fled, was taken at Mevis in the West-Indies, and sent back into England, confess'd and was Executed.

William Hone in his flight was taken in Cambridgeshire. He made his first Confession at Cambridge, the substance of which he afterwards own'd upon all occasions to his Death.

Joseph How was taken and confess'd.

The Lord Howard of Escrick was taken in his House at Knightsbridge, hid behind the Hangings of his Chamber ; and at length confess'd.

Thomas Lea the Dyer was taken, and confess'd.

The Duke of Monmouth withdrew upon the first Proclamation wherein he was Named, and lay

lay hid for divers Months, till he render'd himself, and confess'd.

Edward Norton fled, and is Outlaw'd.

John Nisbet fled, was taken in *Essex* ready to go beyond Sea. He was the Author of the Letter of Trade Written to *Gourdon* a Scotch-Man under the Name of *Pringle*.

John Rouse taken, Try'd, Condemn'd, Executed, making at his Death a Penitent Confession.

John Row once Sword-Bearer of *Bristol*, fled upon the first Discovery; as did also both the *Rumbalds*: they are all three Outlaw'd.

Colonel *Romzey* first absconded, then render'd himself, and confess'd.

The Lord *Russel* taken at his House in *Southampton-Square*, Try'd, Condemn'd, Beheaded. He confess'd enough to shew his Crime, but not his Repentance.

Thomas Shepard hid himself, but soon came in and frankly confess'd.

Aaron Smith had kept secret some time before, because of a Sentence against him for high Misdemeanors: But was taken, and is still a Prisoner.

Colonel *Algernon Sydney* taken, Try'd, Condemn'd, Beheaded.

William Wade, *Joseph Tyley* fled and are Outlaw'd.

Colonel *Thomas Walcot* first retired, then sent a Letter to Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, plainly acknowledging That the Plot was laid very deep and wide, promising to discover more, if he might have hopes of Pardon. But before he could receive an answer,

answer, the Conscience and fright of his own Guilt made him withdraw from the place where he had appointed to stay for it. He was soon after taken, Arraign'd, Condemn'd, Executed ; persevering to the last in the main of his Confession.

Robert West withdrew for a time, but then gave himself up, and has amply confess'd.

Besides these there were divers others at first secured, but afterwards dismiss'd by course of Law ; as the Lord Brandon, Mr. Booth, Major Wildman, Mr. John Trenchard, Major Breman, Mr. Charlton ; this last having been taken in disguise.

Of the SCOTS,

MMR. James Steuart, Brother to the Laird of Cultness, had fled out of Scotland a short time after the Earl of Argyle, upon occasion of dangerous Papers taken in his keeping. Thereafter he transacted only by Letters and Negotiations, remaining out of danger beyond the Seas.

Commissary Monroe and the two Campbells of Cessnock were taken.

The Lord Melvin, Sir John Cockran and Ferguson escap'd divers ways ; though Ferguson stay'd some time in Town after the Discovery, in hopes still of obtaining Bills of the Money to be remitted into Holland.

William Bayley of Ferviswood was seiz'd on in London, convey'd to Edinburgh, and there Try'd, and lately Executed.

William Carstairs, William Spence, Alexander Gourdon of Earlston taken, the two first in Town, the last at Newcastle.

By the positive Confession of these three Scotchmen, together with that of Major *Holms*, who were the Earl of *Argyle's* chief Agents in this business, was the first greatest light given of the said Earls part in the Conspiracy.

Of these, *Alexander Gourdon* Laird of *Earlston* was a Zealous Field-Conventicler, and had been a *Bothwel-Bridge-Rebel*: Where upon the rout of their Army, his Father was kill'd, and he taken Prisoner. Having afterwards got his Liberty, he became Sollicitor for the Faction, in *England* and *Holland*, under pretence of collecting Contributions for maintaining such of them as were denounc'd Fugitives; for which purpose he had a formal Commission sign'd and seal'd in the Name of the General Assembly of their Party at *Edinburgh*.

Before any Discovery, he was taken at *Newcastle* under a feigned Name, endeavouring to get a passage beyond the Seas. About him were seiz'd divers Original Papers, which as soon as he was made Prisoner, he try'd to make privately away, but the Kings Officers observing his design, secur'd them.

Amongst these Papers, there was one very remarkable Letter Written to him under another Counterfeit Name of *Pringle*. The composer of it was *John Nisbet*, one of *Argyle's* Agents in *London*. It was dated *March* the 20th of that Year, when the Conspiracy was in the heighth. It gives a perfect account of their Condition at that

that time during the Transactions between the English and Scottish Traytors : Whilst they sometimes hoped the Treaty would take effect ; sometimes fear'd it would break off without coming to any Resolution.

Amongst many other mysterious intimations of Treason, Nisbet tells him, That Trading being very low here, and many breaking daily, desperate Diseases must have desperate Cures : That while they had some Stock left, it would be better to venture out, than to keep Shop till all be gone ; for after this they should not be able to act, but must let all go : That he had been shew'd a Model of Affairs, in such order as he saw ; venture they must, and venture they would : That now they knew what Goods had been most prejudicial to the Trade : And therefore for the future, resolv'd to insist only on Negatives ; this being the best way to still some Criticks of the Trade : That they would first endeavour to dispatch the Old Stuff : That some Stock was to be got, to set the broken Merchants up again : That if all holds that is intended, it is almost time to set forward, if they had but their Factors and Emissaries home, who are gone forth to try how Countries will like their Goods : That they will return within a Week : Then matters will in instanti off or on, Break, or go through : That if any strange thing should fall out in the mean time, he would post it to him : That things were full as High as he had Written.

These are some amongst divers others of the Covert Significations of the Conspiracy, contain'd in Nisbet's Letter ; which being taken about Gourdon, and sent with him into Scotland, after divers

divers Examinations before the Council there, he plainly detected what was the true sense hidden under the Mystical Style of every Expression in the whole Letter.

Particularly, That by *the Merchants here being low, and often breaking,* was meant the Prosecution of Dissenters by Excommunications, or other legal ways : That therefore they had resolv'd upon a desperate Cure, which was rising in Arms : That *the Model of Affairs which would make them venture,* was the Method then going on in order to a Rising : That *by only insisting on Negatives,* was intended the Conspirators agreeing what they should pull down, which was the whole Government, but not determining positively at first what they should set up : That *Criticks in the Trade,* were design'd the old Scotch Fanaticks, who had so often rebell'd : That *Excluding the old Rotten Stuff,* was the Destruction of the entire Frame of the antient Constitution Civil and Ecclesiastical : That *the Broken Merchants to be set up,* were the baffled Scotch-Whigs to be spirited again with new assistance : That *their being here at a point to set forward,* was the English Conspirators being ready for a Rendezvous : That *the Factors and Emissaries,* were People sent forth through England and Scotland to try Mens Inclinations towards a general Insurrection : That by saying, *That upon those Factors return, Matters would be soon on or off,* was intended, that when their Agents were come back to give an account of their success, accordingly the Design would be either deferr'd longer, or they should instantly rise : That *the strange thing mention'd,* was a speedy

Inspecky Insurrection? That by things being full as high as he had written, was imply'd the Rebellion was almost ripe, and ready to break forth.

This is the substance of the Interpretation of the Letter of Trade that Gourdon of Earlston gave in upon Oath at several Examinations. He moreover confess'd, That upon receipt of this Letter who presently came into England, where he had frequente Conferences with Nisbet touching the Contents of every Clause in it; who always understood it in this sense: That by him and divers others he was made fully acquainted with the Treaty then going on in London; and with the Earl of Argyle's Correspondence with the Persons treating for a speedy Rebellion in both Nations.

Another Scotch-Man whose clear and undoubted Testimony has put this Confederacy between the English and Scotch Trayters out of all Question, is William Carstares, who had been a Zealous and Fierce Preacher to the Sectaries of both Kingdoms: And was formerly Prisoner in Edinburgh-Castle, being accus'd for Publishing a Treasonable Pamphlet call'd the Grievances of Scotland.

At that time he was much employ'd in many Messages relating to this Conspiracy: Especially with Major Holms in dispersing the Earl of Argyle's Libellous Books, and carrying to and fro his Letters in which Carstares pass'd under the Name of Read.

He was apprehended at Tenterden in Kent, seeking an opportunity of flying beyond Sea. He was taken under the Name of William Swan,

then declar'd his true Name was *Moor*, but at last own'd it was *Carstares*.

This *Carstares* being brought before the King, and refusing to confess any more than some general Hints; alledging, *That it was no place for him to answer in a Criminal Matter*; upon that he was sent into *Scotland*, where being Examined before the Lords of the Secret Committee, *September 8th 1684*, he confess'd and afterwards renew'd and confirm'd the same Confession *November 18th*, and *December 22th* of the same Year.

His Deposition having been already made Publick, it will be enough only to note some special Heads of what he depos'd. He confess'd, ‘*That James Steuart, Brother to the Laird of Cultness, wrote to him out of Holland in November or December 1682*, the Letter importing, that if a considerable Sum of Money could be procur'd from *England*, something of Importance might be done in *Scotland*: That this Letter he Communicated to *Shepard*, and he to Colonel *Sydney, Danvers* being present: That *Shepard* return'd answer, Mr. *Sydney* was averse from meddling with the Earl of *Argyle*, suspecting him to be too much inclin'd to the Royal Family, and the present Government: That the said *Carstares* still urg'd one might be sent to the Earl of *Argyle*: That not being able to obtain this, for the foresaid reason, he himself went into *Holland*, was introduced to the Earl, and there discours'd with him particularly about remitting the Money to him from *England*, and rais'ing 1000 Horse and Dragoons, and surprizing *Edinburgh Castle*.

That

That the Earls answer was, The Castles would fall to them of course, after that the Work was done abroad : That without a Thousand Horse and Dragoons rais'd in *England* to be ready to assist them, nothing could be done : That if such a Number could be rais'd, he would come into *Scotland* with them ; whereby he guess'd he might get that Country without trouble, having such a standing Body for their Friends to Rendezvous to.

That the said Earl of Argyle recommended the Deponent to Major *Holms* : That *James Steuart* contriv'd a way of Correspondence by Cyphers and false Names, and sent them over to *Holms*, and the Deponent for their use ; and still desir'd him to press for the 30000*l.* and did not propose any less Sum, the said Earl saying he had particularly calculated the Expence for Arms and Ammunition, &c. though *Steuart* added, If something less could be had, the Earl would content himself.

That when the Deponent was ready to ship for *England*, *Steuart* writ him word there was hope of the Money : That the Day after he arrived here he acquainted Sir *John Cockran* with the said Earls demands of the Sum of Money, and the Horse and Dragoons : That Sir *John Cockran* carried him to the Lord *Russel*, to whom the Deponent propos'd the Affair ; but being a stranger had no answer from him at that time : That afterwards having met the Lord *Russel* at *Sherard's House*, where *Sherard* told him the said Lord was come to speak with him about the Money, the Deponent reiterated to the Lord *Russel*

‘*Russel* the former proposition for 30000*l.* and
‘the 1000 Horse and Dragoons; the said Lord
‘answering, They could not get such a Sum rais’d
‘at the time; but if they had 10000*l.* to begin
‘with, that would draw People in, and when
‘they were once in, they would soon be brought
‘to more; but as for the Horse and Dragoons,
‘he could say nothing at present, for that behoved
‘to be concert’d on the Borders.

‘That the Deponent made the same proposal to
‘*Ferguson*, who was much concerned and Zealous
‘in promoting it; and told him, he was doing
‘what he could to get it effected; always blam-
‘ing Colonel *Sydney*, for driving on designs of
‘his own.

‘That the said Deponent met twice, or thrice
‘with *Melvil*, *Cockran*, *Jerviswood*, *Monroe*,
‘the two *Cambells* of *Cessnock*, *Mongomery* of
‘*Langshaw* and *Veatch*, where they discours’d of
‘Mony to be sent to *Argyle*: That *Monroe*, *Mel-
vin*, and the *Cessnocks* were against meddling with
‘the English Conspirators, as Men that would
‘talk, but would not do: That therefore it were
‘better for the Scots to attempt something by them-
‘selves: That *Veatch*, *Jerviswood*, and this Depo-
‘nent were for accepting the Mony.

‘That at one of their Meetings it was agreed,
‘one *Martin*, late Clerk of the Justice Court,
‘should be sent into *Scotland* to hinder the Coun-
‘try from rising, till they saw how Matters went
‘in *England*: That the said *Martin* did go at the
‘Charge of the Gentlemen there met, and was
‘directed to the Lairds of *Polwart* and *Torwood-
lie*, who sent back word, It would not be so
‘eafie

• easie a matter to get the Gentry of Scotland to
• concur ; yet that afterwards Polwart writ to
• Monroe, *That the Country was readier than they
• imagined.*

• That the said Deponent had the Key of the
• Cypher agreed on in his keeping, when a Let-
• ter came from Argyle to Major Holmes, intimating
• that the said Earl would joyn with the Duke of
• Monmouth, follow his Measures, and obey his
• Directions : That for the Decyphering of this,
• he gave the Key to Veach, who was to deliver
• the Letter to Ferguson, and he to the Duke of
• Monmouth.

To all this Carstares added in his Deposition of Sept. 18. 1684. *That he himself had communicated the Design on foot to three famous English Conventicle-Preachers, Griffith, Mede, and Dr. Owen, who, he affirm'd, did all concur in promoting it, and were desirous it should take effect; which part of Carstares's Oath is the more remarkable, because the King solemnly affirms, that the Duke of Monmouth, in his Confession to his Majesty and his Royal Highness, did particularly name those very three Men, as conscious of the Plot, and withal declar'd in these very words, That all the considerable Non-conformist Ministers knew of the Conspiracy.* An instance that alone, if there were not many more such, were a sufficient Instruction to all Separatists, of what tender Consciences the Men are, whom they chuse for the principal Guides of their Consciences : Since after all this, Mede depos'd before his Majesty, *That he never heard of any Disturbance intended against the Government; but that on the contrary he himself had once advised Ferguson,*

son, upon discourse of some Libel of his then newly made publick, That it was not their part to do such things. Nay, their great Oracle Dr. Owen, being examin'd upon Oath before the Lord Chief Justice Jones, and being ask'd, Whether he had not heard of a horrid Plot against the Life of the King? did, not long before his Death, take God to witness, and subscrib'd to it with his dying Hand, That indeed he had heard of such a Plot by the means of the Kings Proclamation, but no otherwise.

But that which still farther undeniably confirms the Scotch part of the Conspiracy with the English, was the Confession of William Spence a Scotch-Man, and of Major Holmes an English-Man, the former being a Menial Servant to the Earl of Argyle, the other his long Dependent and Friend; a Man active in the times of Cromwell, and always disaffected to his Majesties Government.

Major Holmes being taken in London in the beginning of the Discovery with several of the Earl of Argyle's Original Letters about him, and being examin'd, confess'd He knew of the Earl of Argyle's proposing to some principal Men in England, That for 30000 Pounds he might be furnish'd for his Expedition into Scotland: That the English at last condescended to send him 10000 Pounds: That though he had not personally converst with the Great Men who were to raise the Money, yet he had often heard the Duke of Monmouth, the Lord Gray, the Lord Russel named: That he himself was appointed by the Earl of Argyle to convey Letters to and from his Countess and others his Correspondents: That he could not Decypher those taken about him, but that William Spence could: That this Spence

Spence went under the Name of Butler, and was just then come over in the Packet-Boat from Holland, to dispose of the Libel call'd The Earl of Argyle's Catechism.

This Deposition was given by Major Holmes on June 29. 1689. the very day that Spence being arrived from Holland, was apprehended under the Name of Butler.

Besides this Evidence of Holmes concerning Spence, it appears plainly by the Earl of Argyle's own words in several passages of his Letters, taken in Holmes's possession, especially in that part of the long Letter of the 21 of June, which was not written in Cypher, That the said Spence, alias B. as he afterwards own'd himself for the Man, knew his the said Earls Address, and how to write to him; adding, That he could instruct Holmes in this Cypher, else he had lost six hours Work.

Wherefore upon this assurance that Spence could Decypher the Letters, he was examined before the King; but not confessing any thing material, and seeming resolv'd not to do it, he was sent into Scotland, where he was brought to discover the whole Intrigue; acknowledg'd That he himself was the B. or Butler mention'd in the Letters; That those superscrib'd to West and Robert Thomson were directed to Major Holmes under those false Names: That he the said Spence could open the Letters, and explain the way of reading them; which he did, and then justified upon Oath the Explanation he had made to be according to their true sense.

It happen'd also at the same time, whilst Spence was under close Examination, that Mr. Gray of Crechie,

Grechie, a Scotch Gentleman skill'd in the Art of Cyphers, did, without any the least Communication with Spence, Decypher some of the principal of the said Earls Letters ; and when both Spence's and Mr. Gray's Copies were found to agree exactly, there could not possibly have been given a more certain Demonstration of the Truth of Spence's way of Decyphering, which he confess'd he was taught by Argyle himself.

In this manner were these Letters proved Authentick, and the right meaning of them unfolded. And it is evident by the plain Tenour of them, that some of them were written by the said Earl just about the time that the Conspiracy was near ripening, and when he was inform'd of Ten Thousand Pounds only order'd to be sent him : Others were written after he had heard that the Plot was discover'd.

In every one of those Papers it is easie to trace out manifest Footsteps of the whole Conspiracy. But particularly that of June 21st New Style, which is June 11th of the English, written the very day before Keeling made the first discovery, contains not only a vehement expostulation of the said Earl of Argyle's touching the delay of the Money from England, and the smallness of the Sum design'd ; but a plain Narration how the Insurrection was to be concert'd in both Kingdoms.

The Body of the Letter was written in Cypher, the Preface and Postscript in plain Hand ; in both there is reference made to Butler's, that is Spence's, being able to expound it ; and from the very same Spence was taken the Exposition of it upon Oath.

Therein

Therein the said Earl tells his Correspondent in England, That he knew not the Grounds their Friends had gone upon to offer so little Money; nor did he understand what Assistance they would give: That till he knew both, and heard what Carstares, or any other they should send over, had to say; he purpos'd neither to refuse his service, nor object against anything resolv'd here.

However that the said Earl had truly mention'd in his Proposition formerly made the very least Sum he thought could do the business effectually; which was not half of what had been requisite in another Juncture of Affairs: That what Money he propos'd to be rais'd, was so much within the power of the Persons concern'd; that if a little less could do the business, he had thought it would not be stood upon: That the said Earl reckon'd the Assistance of the Horse absolutely necessary for the first Brush: That as to the precise Number nam'd, he would not be peremptory, but he believ'd there would need that effectual Number: That 1000 might be as easily rais'd as 5 or 600; and it were hard if it stuck at the Odds.

That they should consider, whether all ought to be hazarded upon so small a difference as to the Mony: That though 'tis true, what was propounded is more by half than is requisite for the first Weeks Work, yet soon after, all or more will be necessary; and then Arms cannot be sent like Mony by Bills.

That there are above 1000 Horse and Dragoons, and 2000 Foot at least in Scotland; all well appointed and tolerably well commanded:

' That it were hard to expect Country-People on
' Foot without Horse should beat them triple their
' Number : That if Multitudes could be got to-
' gether, they would still need more Arms and
' more Provisions.

' That if some considerable thing be not sud-
' denly done at the first appearing, it may fright
' a little, but will do no good.

' That the standing Forces will take up some
' station ; probably at *Stirling* : That they will
' have for aid not only the Militia of Twenty
' Thousand Foot, and 2000 Horse, but all
' the Heritors, to the Number it may be of 50000
' Men : That though many should be unwilling to
' fight for the standing Forces, yet most will once
' join, and many will be as concern'd for them,
' as any can be against them.

' That though the said Earl's party should have
' at first all the success imaginable, yet it is impos-
' sible but some will keep together, and have affi-
' stance from all the three Kingdoms ; then it will
' not be time to call for more Arms, far less for
' more Mony to buy them ; and they should then
' prove like the Foolish Virgins.

' That it is next to be consider'd how the dis-
' contented English Lords could employ so much
' Mony, and so many Horse, better for their own
Interest, though the Protestant Cause were not
' concern'd ; this being a little Sum, and small
' Fonds to raise so many Men, and by Gods Blef-
' sing to repress the whole Power of *Scotland*.

' That the Horse to be sent from *England* need
' stay but a little while to do a job, unless future
' events should make *Scotland* the Seat of the
' War ;

' War ; which would be yet more to the advantage of England.

' That by the best Husbanding the total of the Money proposed, it cannot purchase Arms and absolute Necessaries for one time, for an Army of the Number they were to deal with : That nothing out of the whole is design'd to be bestowed on many things useful, and some necessary, as Tents, Waggons, Cloaths, Shooes, Horse, Horseshooes, &c. All which are not only once to be had, but daily recruited, much less was any of it apportion'd to provide for Meat or Drink, Intelligence, or other incident Charges.

' That some honest well-meaning good People may undertake for little, because they can do little, and know little what is to be done.

' That the said Earl had made the reckoning as low as if he had been to pay it all out of his own Purse : That he was resolv'd never to touch the Money ; only to have it issued out according to Order : That he freely submits to any knowing Souldier for the Lists, and to any skilful Merchant for the prices he had calculated.

' That it will be a great encouragement for Persons of Estates and consideration to venture, when they shall know there is a project and prospect of the whole Affair, and Necessaries provided for such an attempt.

' That if after the said Earl shall have spoken with ~~Carstares~~, he sees he is able to do any service, he will be very willing ; if he be not able, he will pray God some other may.

' That before it be given over, he wishes he might have such a conference as he had mentioned

tioned in another Letter a week before : wherein he had offer'd either to come over privately in Person, or to meet any to be sent from hence.

That he expected not all the Horse from the discontented Lords, but some considerable part might be rais'd by particular Friends.

That he had yet more to add, to inforce all he had said, but it could not be express'd at that distance : That something more was to be done to prevent the Designs of the Enemies, which he dares not now mention , lest it should put them on their Guard : That he has a considerable Direction in his Head, but all is in Gods Hands.

This is a faithful and impartial Abstract of the Mystical Letter ; than which, how could there have been express'd by words a more compleat Deduction of the said Earl's part in the design'd Insurrection ?

Immediately after the Cyphers, this follows in words at large, *The Total Sum is 128 Guilders, and 8 Stivers, that will be paid you by Mr. B.*

Which last Clause was the Rule whereby Mr. Gray found out, and Spence discover'd the Decyphering of the whole Letter ; and it was accordingly done by each of them apart, by making eight Columns, and placing 128 words in each Column descending, as upon view of the Authentick Printed Copies will appear to any Man beyond all Contradiction.

In short, this Letter of the late Earl of Argyle's was known by many of the Privy Council there to be his Hand ; and his own Lady upon Oath deposed, *She knew it to be his, though she did not know the Contents of it.*

And

And such is the Account that is to be given of the said Earl of Argyle's Loyalty, which he had desir'd might be the only Standard in what sense he would take the *Test*.

Hitherto he had been by Inheritance Lord High Admiral and Justice General of Argyle, Tarbat, and the Isles, and great Master of the Household. He was by his Majesty put into Places of great Dignity and Trust; he was made extraordinary Lord of the Session, one of his Majesties Privy Council, and one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. And after his Fathers Condemnation for the highest Crimes, and his own Forfeiture of his Honour and Estate for Treasonable Expressions in a Letter of his, he was restor'd to all his Father possess'd, except the Title of Marquis. But notwithstanding all these, and many more Obligations of the like nature which he had to his Majesty, his fondnes of esteem with the Factious People, his aversion to Monarchy, and hatred of the Royal Family, particularly of the Duke of York, led him to this height of Ingratitude.

This, and divers other Letters of the like traiterous importance, all written with Argyle's own Hand, being at one and the same time taken about Major Holmes, the Person chiefly intrusted by the said Earl to receive and convey all his Correspondences with England and Scotland, it cannot be doubted but very many more Papers of the same dangerous Tenor had been this way interchang'd between him and the English and Scotch Conspirators, during the whole progress of the Conspiracy. Especially considering, that in some of these, the Earl of Argyle refers to some Expressions and

Propositions which he says he had made in others ; and there are no such Expressions to be met with in all these Letters that are taken : Besides that with the Letters themselves there were also seiz'd about *Holmes* several Alphabets, and a Key of Words ; whereas of one of the Alphabets there has been as yet no use found in Decyphering ; and though in the Key there are Eighty new-coyn'd Words, yet not above Six of them are made use of in all the parcel of the said *Earl's* Letters hitherto intercepted.

However by the Light these Letters gave, so well agreeing with several other Intelligences receiv'd from many Hands, his Majesties Council of *Scotland* were abundantly convinc'd that the Bloody Design had reach'd thither also ; and therefore immediately order'd the bottom of the Business to be search'd into by a Secret Committee. Whereupon Warrants were issued out there to apprehend *Walter Earl of Tarras*, Brother-in-Law to the Duke of *Monmouth*, *Sir Patrick Hume* Laird of *Polwart*, *Pringle* Laird of *Torwoodlie*, *James Murray* Laird of *Philiphaugh*, and *Hugh Scot* Laird of *Gallowshiel* ; all of them being Persons named by *Carstares* and others as Partakers with *Argyle* in this Treason, as they had been formerly most active with him, in endeavouring to disturb the Loyal Proceedings of the Parliament for enacting the *Test*.

Of these the Laird of *Polwart* and *Torwoodlie* having been the most busie, and so conscious of their greater guilt, conceal'd themselves, and have hitherto escaped ; the other three were taken, and brought to *Edenburg*, where they freely confess'd upon

upon Oath : As did also Commissary *Monroe*, who had been sent thither Prisoner out of *England*. All which Depositions and Confessions they again repeated and confirm'd in the same solemn manner at the Tryal of Mr. *William Baillie of Ferijwood*.

The Earl of *Tarras* without either craving, or receiving any security for himself, did ingenuously confess,

' That about the time, when Sir *John Cockran*,
' and Commissary *Monroe* got their Commission
' from the *Carolina Company* for *London*, Mr.
' *Baillie* desir'd him to speak to *Monroe*, that he
' might be added to the Commission : Telling him
' that he was resolved to go to *London* however
' upon his own charges : For that his, and their
' going about the *Carolina* business was only a Pre-
' tence and a Blind ; but the true design was to
' push forward the People of *England*, who did
' nothing but talk, to go more effectually about
' their busines.

' That thereupon the said *Baillie* did settle a correspondence with the Deponent, whereby the one was to give an account what past between the Country party in *England*, and the Scotch Men there ; the other to write back what occur'd in *Scotland*.

' That the said *Baillie* told him, the only way to secure the Protestant Religion, was for the King to suffer the Parliament to sit, and pass the Bill of Exclusion : Which the King might be induc'd to do, if the Parliament would take sharp and brisk Measures with him.

That

‘ That after the said *Baillie* went to *London*,
‘ he did give the Deponent account by Letters,
‘ how things were in great disorder there ; but
‘ he hoped effectual courses were taking to reme-
‘ dy them,

‘ That Mr. *Robert Martin* did come to Mr.
‘ *Pringles* of *Tormoodlie* in *May 1683*, and brought
‘ the Deponent a Letter from the said *Baillie* then
‘ at *London*.

‘ That *Martin* told the Deponent, things
‘ in *England* were in great disorder, and like to
‘ come to a height, but the Country Party were
‘ considering of Methods for securing the Prote-
‘ stant Religion.

‘ That the Scotch-Men at *London* had ask’d
‘ 30000 Pounds, but that *Argyle* was to have
‘ 10000 *l.* which Sum was to be sent by *Baillie*
‘ into *Holland* to buy Arms, and then *Argyle* was to
‘ Land with those Arms in the *West-Highlands* of
‘ *Scotland*.

‘ The Earl of *Tarras* deposed farther, That *Pbi-*
‘ *liphaugh* and he went to *Gallowshiel*s House,
‘ where they met with *Polwart* and *Gallowshiel*s.

‘ That there it was discours’d among them,
‘ that in case the English should rise in Arms, it
‘ was necessary so many as could be got on the Bor-
‘ ders, should be in readiness to deal with Strag-
‘ lers, and Seize on Horses, and thereafter joyn
‘ with those that were in Arms on the Borders of
‘ *England*: That then it would be convenient to
‘ surprize *Berwick*, *Stirling*, and some other
‘ strong places : That some Persons should be em-
‘ ploy’d to inquire what Arms were in the Coun-
‘ try : That it was resolv’d every one should
‘ speak

' speak to, and prepare such particular Persons as
' they could trust, not at first in plain terms, but
' indirectly, and upon supposition of a Rising in
' England : That there was a Word and Sign to
' be used among them, the sign was by loosing a
' Button on the Breast , the word was *Har-*
' *mony.*

' That it was agreed among them all, that the best
' time for *Argyle* to Land, was when there should
' be a Stir in *England*. Stir being the word which
' these Scotch Traytors and the Lord *Ruffel* used
' to express what in plain English is call'd open
' Rebellion.

In the like manner Commissary *Alexander Monroe* depos'd upon Oath,

' That the Earl of *Tarras* did propose to him,
' that Mr. *Baillie* might be made one of the Com-
' missioners for the Affair of *Carolina*.

' That he did go along with Mr. *Baillie* to
' *London*, and heard him by the way regretting
' the hazard, their Laws, Liberties, and the Pro-
' testant Religion were in.

' That Mr. *Baillie* spoke to the Deponent more
' than once at *London* for getting Money from the
' English to be sent to *Argyle*, to bring home Arms
' for the said *Argyle*'s use to raise an Insurrection in
' *Scotland*.

' That in *Baillie's* Chamber in *London*, *William Veitch* a Forefaulter, that is, a declared Traitor,
' being present, Sir *John Cockran* did expressly speak
' of Money to be sent to *Argyle* for the foresaid
' purpose.

That another occasion he heard some of them say, there would be 20000 Men in Scotland ready to assist the Rebellion.

That Mr. Robert Martin was sent down from that Meeting in Baillie's Chamber to Scotland, to try what the Scots would do for their own Safety : That it was agreed the People of Scotland should rise, when there was a rising in England.

That the Commission was granted to Martin by all the Persons present, who were the Lord Melvil, Sir John Cockran, the Cessnocks Elder and Younger, Mr. William Carstares, Mr. William Veitch, Jerviswood, and the Deponent, who did all contribute Money towards his Journey.

That Martin at his return from Scotland meeting with the Deponent, told him, Matters were in such a Condition there, as a little would kindle the Fire in order to a Rebellion.

Then also James Murray Laird of Philiphaugh confess'd, and deposed upon Oath,

That in May 1683. upon a Letter from Mr. Pringle of Torwoodlie to invite him to his House, he came, where he found Mr. Martin lately come from London.

That upon discourse Martin told them the City was much irritated through some Attempts upon their Privileges ; but that all honest Men were of good heart, and very brisk.

That Torwoodlie then told the Deponent he expected the Earl of Tarras, having sent for him, because Martin had a Letter directed to him from Jerviswood : Torwoodlie adding, That there were great Matters in Agitation at London, that

that *Martin* was come down with a Commission
to their Friends here; but he was to Commu-
nicate his Instructions only to *Polwart* and him-
self, who were to pitch on such Persons as they
thought fit to intrust with the Affair: That he
had great confidence in the Deponent, and there-
fore had sent to acquaint him, that things were
now come to a Crisis: That he had reason to think
England would shortly be in Arms: That it was
no Project of an inconsiderable Party, but a De-
sign through the Kingdom: That many of the
finest Men, and of greatest Interest and Credit
were engaged in it there, and had agreed for
the advancing Money to furnish Arms here:
That *Polwart* would be at *Gallowshiel* that
Night, and it would be necessary the Earl of
Tarras and the Deponent should confer with him
fully on the Business.

That about this time the Earl of *Tarras*
came, who retired a little to discourse with
Martin.

That then *Torwoodlie* told the Deponent, that
although *Martin* would not Commune with
them upon his Commission directly, yet it would
be fit they conferr'd, and without taking notice
of his Commission, discours'd of things as their
own private Notions, abstracted from any pro-
spect of a present Design.

That accordingly after Dinner they four re-
tired to a Chamber, and after some general talk
of the Discontents of both Kingdoms, these Sup-
positions following were discours'd of, *Martin*
starting all, or most of them.

If the Country Party in England should have thoughts of going into Arms, what could be expected here in such a case?

Would it not be expedient to have a settled Correspondence between that Party there, and here?

Might it not be so adjusted, that both Kingdoms should draw out in one day?

Might not as many be expected in these Shires, and about Edinburgh, as would surprize the Rabbits, and some to join with the English in the Borders, and seize on Berwick, others to attempt Stirling-Castle?

If Argyle should at the same time Land in the West, and raise that Country, would not these Measures contribute much to the Advancement and Interest of the Party? Encourage all that had an Inclination to them, and scare many others from acting against them? And so they might have leisure to join from all places. And then might it not be expected there would be as many in this Kingdom, as would be able to deal with the Forces here, at least divert them from troubling England?

These Queries being proposed, it was answered, That as to settling a Correspondence, it was very convenient for those of a Common Interest, but none could be found here fit to manage it that would undertake it.

That as to trying, that is to say, rising at the same time, that could not be done without divulging the Design to all Ranks of People, which none would consent to, except those already in desperate Circumstances, and they would not generally have much Influence.

That

‘ That the thing was not at all adviseable for
‘ Scotland, because if those in *England*, especial-
‘ ly in *London*, the Spring of their motions,
‘ should happen to have an Interruption near the
‘ time appointed, then the Scots not having timely
‘ notice, might rise alone, and so be expos’d as a
‘ Prey.

‘ That *Argyle*’s coming was not much to be re-
‘ lied on, by reason of the uncertainty of Sea-Voy-
‘ ages : That he might himself be suspected of pri-
‘ vate Designs ; that despair might blind his usual
‘ prudence, and prompt him to indigested Me-
‘ thods ; so it was expected few of the Gentry, but
‘ such as were under very hard Circumstances,
‘ would embarque with him. That as to the
‘ surprizing their Rulers, it was inveigh’d against,
‘ as an Action not to be thought of amongst Pro-
‘ testants.

‘ That then *Martin* told the Company, if any
‘ had a mind for a suit of Armour, he could pro-
‘ vide as many as pleas’d, of a new Fashion, ve-
‘ ry light, and of an easie rate, from one who
‘ had made a great many lately for honest Men
‘ in *London*.

‘ That then all the Company except *Martin* ;
‘ went to *Gallowshiel*s House, where they met him
‘ and *Polwart*.

‘ That after Supper, having given and recei-
‘ ved mutual assurance that they were free to
‘ commune with *Gallowshiel*s, and he with them,
‘ touching matters of great Secrecy and Impor-
‘ tance, they sate close together, *Polwart* begin-
‘ ning the discourse :

‘ And signifying to them, he was credibly inform’d that the Country Party in *England* would draw onto the Fields shortly, and as he heard, before *Lammas*: That *Gallowshiel*s seem’d visibly surpriz’d at it, saying he loved better to be walking in his own Parks than to be meddling in such matters: However assuring them, if there came any troublesome work, he would joyn with them firmly.

‘ That the Earl of *Tarras* also disapproved of doing anything during the Kings Life; because that might strengthen the Dukes Interest: That therefore he suspected it was a project of the Common-Wealts-Men, with whom he believed few Scotch Gentlemen would joyn; and that he was almost persuaded the Duke of *Monmouth* would not concur in any Rising during the Kings Life.

‘ That to all this *Polwart* answer’d, he heard the English had once agreed on that Principle, but it seem’d they found they must either do their business now, or lay aside all hopes of doing it hereafter. For if the Charter of *London* were let fall, they should not only lose all safe Opportunity of digesting Matters, but also a great part of their Strength: Adding that he heard all things were concerted mutually between *Monmouth*’s Friends, and the Heads of the Common-Wealth Party; and though *Monmouth* was shy on that account, yet he hoped he would engage, or he would be deserted by that Party.

‘ That then *Polwart* mentioned the former Queries, as overtures agreed on between other Friends

Friends in London, and the Principal Men of
that Party there.

That the Earl of Tarras and the Deponent
repeated their former answers; Gallowshiel joyn-
ing forwardly with them.

That Polwart replied, he was fully of their
Opinion, if things were entire, but refus'd it to
be consider'd, whether it were not better to com-
ply with some of these Methods, though not so
justifiable as could be wish'd, rather than disap-
point the business totally.

That there was another argument urg'd against
rising with the English, because it was talk'd
there had been a Day appointed in England in
Shaftsbury's time, which did not hold; so they
were not to be relied on.

That then it was proposed to be deliberated
what Methods were most proper in the Compa-
nies Opinion for Scotland to follow, in case of
of Englands Rising first.

That it was said, All that could be expected
or desired from Scotland was, that upon certain
News of Englands being in the Field, those of
the Southern Shires should presently rise, and as
soon as so many could convene, as would be able
to deal with stragling Parties, March to joyn the
English on the Borders, that then it would be
seasonable for Argyle to Land in the West;
and these Parties on the Borders might divert
the Forces, till he had time to put himself into
a posture.

That it was left to Polwart to Commune with
others to this purpose.

That

' That all the Company seem'd to agree, they
 ' should move nothing in the Affair, till they had
 ' a certain account what *England* propos'd, and
 ' who were to be their Heads ; that if they de-
 sign'd any thing against the Kings Person, or
 ' for overturning Monarchy, they should not be
 ' clear to joyn.

' That it was recommended to all the Com-
 ' pany, to be inquiring indirectly about the affe-
 ' ctions of their Neighbours, and what Arms
 ' were amongst them ; that so, if they should
 ' resolve to joyn with the English, they might
 ' know where to seek Men and Arms sudden-
 ' ly.

' That here it was said by one, (by *Polwart* as
 ' the Deponent thinks) That if the Earl of *Tar-*
ras, *Torwoodlie*, *Gallowshiel*s, and he took Horse,
 ' most part of *Tiviot-Dale* and *Selkirk-Shire*
 ' would soon come to them, especially when they
 ' heard that *England* was risen.

' That they all agreed to meet there again at
 ' *Midsummer-Fair*, when the account from *Eng-*
land might be expected ; but in case it came to
 ' any of their hands sooner, each promis'd to
 ' advertise the rest.

The Deponent farther added, he was told in
 private by *Polwart* or *Torwoodlie*,

' That *Polwart* kept Correspondence with their
 ' Friends at *London*, naming the Lord *Melvil*, Sir
 ' *John Cockran*, *Ferviswood*, and Commissary
 ' *Monroe*.

' That the Money to be advanc'd by the Eng-
 ' lish Partie to *Scotland*, was ready when *Martin*
 ' left *London*.

' That

' That it was expected within few days after, it would be dispatch'd with some Confident to Holland ; that it was 10000*l.* and was to be employ'd by that Confident at Argyle's fight, for buying of Arms , and providing Shipping to transport them with Argyle .

' That as soon as the Scots at London got Notice of their Confidence's arrival in Holland , and that all other things were concluded with the English , which might be about the middle of June , then they would come down into Scotland , and give them a particular Account of all Resolutions taken .

' That the Deponent was told all Letters were written by both Parties , as about the Carolina Business , or concerning some Household-Furniture : That there was a Sign and a Word agreed on , that they might know with whom to use freedom ; the Word was Harmony , and the Sign was the Opening of Buttons on the Breast-Coat , and shutting them presently .

' That the Deponent never saw it used , except when he visited Parkbay in Edinburgh about the end of June ; who asking whether he had the Word and Sign of the Carolina-Men , and the Deponent having given them , said , He was afraid the Carolina Business did not go well , for there had been some of the Managers expected there eight days past , but none were come : Nor could he learn any of their Friends had heard from them for several Posts .

The said James Murray of Philiphaugh depos'd farther , ' That at their Meeting at Gallowshiel it was resolv'd they should keep their Cess or Tax unpaid

'unpaid till their next Meeting at *Midsummer*, and
'should deal with all those they had influence up-
'on to do the like, and that upon the Supposition
'mention'd in his former Oath.

Next, *Hugh Scot Laird of Gallowshiel* confess'd and deposed, *That the Earl of Tarras and Philiphaugh did come to his House in May 1683*. *That Polwart came likewise thither*, where there were Discourses and Proposals, *That if the English did rise in Arms, their Friends in the South-Shires should rise with them*: *That they should seize the Horses belonging to the Kings Troops where they grazed*, and attempt the Town of Berwick, and the Castle of Stirling.

That it was likewise there discour'd of the late Earl of Argyle's coming to invade Scotland; but because of the uncertainty of Sea-Voyages, there was not much stress laid upon it.

That it was also proposed, such of the South-Country whom they trusted should be acquainted with it: *That Endeavours should be used to learn what Arms were in the Country*: *That the Earl of Tarras, Philiphaugh, Torwoodlie, Polwart, and some others should draw to Horse with the first, when the rising should be in a readiness*; and that it might be expected the South parts of Tiviot-Dale and Selkirk-Shire would joyn with them.

The said *Gallowshiel* had also deposed before the Lords of the Secret Committee, *That the Earl of Tarras and Philiphaugh being in his House in May, discour'd of an intended Rising in England and in London in particular, and of Proposals made to the Scots to rise with them*: *That Polwart was there*

there present, and told them he was sure the English intended so ; That they discours'd it was fit to seize Berwick and Stirling : It was also talk'd of bringing the Duke of York to his Tryal.

The said Gallowshiel depos'd farther before the Lords of the Committee, That in the Month of May 1683. the Earl of Tarras, Hume of Polwart the Elder, and the Laird of Philiphaugh came to the Deponents House, where they spake of the security of the Protestant Religion, and of a Party in England who would secure or seize the King or Duke : That if any should rise in Arms to defend or rescue them, there was another Party who would rise against them.

That it was proposed some Country-men should be spoken to, to try their Resolutions : That it was likewise proposed to seize the Officers of State.

That it was there said, Sir John Cockran was to come to the West from England to advance the Design : That the Earl of Argyle was to Land in the West Highlands to raise that Country.

That of these Matters all that were present discours'd, as of an Affair they were agitating, and wherein themselves were particularly concern'd.

These several plain and full Proofs, together with the Depositions of Carstares before mentioned, being also strengthen'd by the Confessions of Thomas Shepard and Zechary Bourn, and all exhibited at the Triall of William Baillie of Ferviswood, were not only over-abundantly sufficient to convince the Person accused of his particular share in the Guilt ; but they also remain as so many standing and indubitable testimonies of the truth of the

the whole Conspiracy between the English, and Scotch Rebels.

After all this, how is it possible that the most audacious of the Factious Party of both Nations, notwithstanding their being so expert in driving on the Trade of Lying and traducing their Governors, should ever have any tolerable colour of probability to invalidate or discredit the undoubted Evidence of so many Witnesses, most of them Men of high Quality, great Estates, potent Interests; all of them Zealous and indefatigable assertors of the Rebellious Cause; and this Evidence given in by them at first voluntarily, and often again reiterated, and adher'd to, against *Baillie* their Chief Companion in Iniquity, their near Kinsman and Friend?

As for *Baillie of Jerviswood* himself, the Persons who pass'd upon his Assize did with one Voice find the Crimes of Art and part in the Conspiracy, and of concealing and not revealing the same, clearly proved against him. Whereupon he was adjug'd to suffer the Punishment of a Traitor: His Life and Death being such as might be expected from the Nephew and Son-in-Law of the Old Arch Traitor *Warriston*, in whose Family he was bred up, and tutor'd under his Discipline, according to his Principles.

Such were the chief Steps the Scotch Conspirators had made in their part of the Treasonable Design, as far as through the Divine Favour it has been hitherto traced out by the Extraordinary Diligence, Wisdom and Integrity of his Majesties present Ministers in that Kingdom. For the Readers clearer comprehending the whole progress of

the

the Villany, the King thought best to have it thus represented in one view, and put all together in an uninterrupted course of Narration: Though by this Method divers things have been already spoken of, which in the natural course of time happen'd after the several material passages, that remain yet unmention'd, relating to the English part of the Conspiracy.

Wherefore, to return to the Year 1683, and to what happen'd in England that Summer, shortly after the first Discovery.; His Majesty having now received irresistible Proof of the certainty of the Wicked and unnatural Design, that the World might have the like conviction, resolv'd speedily to bring some of the most Notorious Malefactors to a fair and open Tryal.

The first Person who was put upon justifying himself, was Lieutenant Colonel *Thomas Walcot*, on the Twelfth of *July* of that Year. Against him divers Witnesses were produced, who, in their Depositions, first gave some distinct account of the Plot in General, and then of the particular share the Prisoner at the Bar had in it.

As to what concern'd *Walcot* himself, Colonel *Romzey* first deposed, That the said *Walcot* came out of *Holland* with *Ferguson* after *Shaftsbury's* Death: That he came to *West's* Chamber where he was present when a List was brought of the Assassines, and agreed to joyn with them, intending to Command a Party to charge the Guards: That he undertook to go and view *Rumbald's* House, and bought a Horse for that purpose: That he was present at the dividing of *London* into twenty parts in order to an Insurrec-

on ; and at the Consult for buying of Arms after the disappointment at the Rye : That he was at the Meeting for carrying on the Conspiracy on Thursday before the Discovery : That after it they met at Captain Tracie's, Walcot's own Lodgings, himself being present.

Next Josiah Keeling swore that Walcot was at the Trayterous Assembly at the Salutation-Tavern, when the Deponent was called Gulick, and a Health drunk to the English Gulick, West saying that Gulick in Dutch was Keeling in English ; adding, *He hoped to see Keeling at the Head of a good Army at Wapping, as it was reported one Gulick was then at Cologne.*

Then Zachary Bourn witnessed, That Walcot used to come to Ferguson when he lodg'd at his House : That Walcot and several others met at the Dragon on Snow-Hill, and often in other places, in order to raise Men, and divide the City into twenty parts for securing the King and the Duke : That almost every time they met, at least three times, the Prisoner at the Bar was there : That he was at the Meeting at Tracie's, where they debated of standing to it with Swords in their Hands, and of killing Keeling for having made the Discovery.

Robert West's Testimony concerning him went somewhat farther back. He deposed, That he became acquainted with Walcot the Summer before, when he told the Deponent the Carolina Business was only a Pretence, That he ask'd the Deponent upon the Election of the Sheriffs, *Will the People do nothing to secure themselves ?* Thereupon acquainting him with an Insurrection then design'd

design'd within three weeks or a month : That Shaftesbury was in the Design, and had engaged him also : That he had an Expectation of being Colonel of Horse ; asking the said West, *Whether he would have any Command under him ?* That upon his refusal, he desired him to lend him a Suit of Silk Armour : That the said Wakot told him of several Designs to Attack the King and the Duke : That in the Business of the Rye, he undertook to Command the Party that was to set upon the Guards : That after the Disappointment, he met with the other Conspirators, where they discours'd of it, and complain'd they had not Arms in readiness : That he sometimes made one in the Trayterous Discourses at the Deponents, and at the Young Devil Tavern : That he was present at the Meeting at *Tracies* relating to their escape ; the Prisoner at the Bar himself then saying, *God would still deliver the Nations.*

His Letter to Mr. Secretary Jenkins was also produced, which he was proved to have own'd before the Council to be his Hand. The substance of it being, That he was come to Town to lay himself at his Majesties Feet : That this was the first Crime he had been Guilty of since the Kings Return, and too soon by much now : That he was ready to discover to his Majesty all that he knew in *England, Scotland and Ireland*, which might be something more than the first discoverer could acquaint him with, especially as to *Ireland* : That his intimacy with a Scotch Minister, through whose Hands much of the business pass'd, occasioned his knowing very much ; and that it was ~~had~~ very broad, or he was mis-inform'd ;

form'd; concluding with a proposal that he would follow the Traytors who were fled, and give notice what Measures they should take; with other the like expressions.

There was likewise a Paper given in Evidence that was taken about him in *Newgate*; wherein he desir'd *Romzey* and *West* to spare him, saying, *They had ground enough to serve the King upon other Men.*

But as to his private Confession to the King upon his first Examination, that was not produc'd against him, though in that he had told divers new Particulars of the Conspiracy, and named the Men of Quality who had undertaken to raise the several Shires.

Against all this *Walcot's* defence only consisted in his own denial of having had any Hand in the Assassination; saying, 'He knew well enough, if he should have undertaken to charge the Guards whilst others kill'd the King, he was equally Guilty with those that kill'd him; but that he was sick of the Gout during the Meetings whilst the King was at *Newmarket*: Moreover, that those Witnesses were sufficiently dipped themselves, and swore against him to save their own Lives: That *Goodenough* and *Rumbald* he never knew: That the last Meeting at his Lodgings was appointed by *Romzey*, he himself knowing nothing of it: That he came accidentally to the other Meetings only to hear News. He confessed he heard there was a Design amongst divers great Lords and Gentlemen for asserting Liberties and Properties; but that he was not at their Consultations. The Sum was,

' was, that he had heard a great deal of an Insurrection, but had no hand in it, and therefore his fault could be only Misprision of Treason. And as to his Letter, he alledged, he had only heard what he promised to discover from Ferguson.

To the most material parts of this Defence, it was answer'd by his Majesties Learned Council at Law, That there is nothing more just than to make use of some Traytors to Convict others, else Treason might be hatch'd most securely : That because the Witnesses had been concern'd in the Plot, therefore they were to be believed ; for who should know it but those that were concern'd ? That better Witnesses could not have been had, except the thing had succeeded : That the very being at Treasonable Consults, and keeping them private, is not only Misprision, but High Treason. And as to his having the Gout, West told him, he remember'd it very well by a good token, that Walcot himself said, *He was afraid when the time came, he should not be able to draw on his Boot.*

But the whole Evidence against Walcot being clear and positive Testimony, and what he pleaded for himself being only his own single Affirmation and Negation, without any support of Witnesses, the Jury immediately brought him in guilty of High Treason. According to which Sentence he was Executed on the 20th of the said Month. At the time of his Execution he again acknowledg'd what he had told the King, and writ to the Secretary of State, *That the Business was laid very deep ; he said, An Act of Indulgence*

'would do well, because the King had a great
'many Men to take Judgment of: He persisted,
'he was to have had no hand in his Majesties
'Death, though he confess'd it was proposed when
'he was present: He declared he did not know
'that this Conspiracy was older than the *August*
'or *September* before: but so old he own'd it was.

The next Offender that came under the Stroak
of Justice, was *William Hone* a Joyner, who be-
ing brought to the Bar, would presently have
confess'd himself guilty of great part of the Ac-
cusation. But refusing to confess all, he was re-
quir'd to plead, and the next day was brought
on his Tryal. Then again he desir'd he might re-
tract his Plea, and offer'd to plead Guilty. But since
he would not own the whole Indictment, for Sa-
tisfaction of the World the Evidence against him
was produc'd.

Josiah Keeling swore, That the Prisoner at the
Bar was at the Dolphin-Tavern, when several sorts
of Arms were agreed on to be provided under
the borrow'd Names of *Swan-Quills*, *Goose-Quills*,
Crow-Quills: That after that Meeting, *Hone* told
the Deponent, He was to be one of them who
were to go down to the *Rye* to Assassinate the
King. That he since also told him, It would ne-
ver be well till the *Black-Bird* and the *Gold-Finch*
were knock'd on the Head; explaining those terms
to be meant of the King and the Duke. To which
Witness *Hone* reply'd in open Court, That as to
the *Black-Bird* he own'd it, but not as to the *Gold-*
Finch.

Then *Watt* deposed, That *Goodenough* having
told him he would try *Hone*, whether he would
attempt

attempt on the Duke without the King, the Deponent ask'd *Hone*, Whether he had seen *Goodenough*? He answer'd, He had, and that he had spoken to him about a job for the Duke. That at another time also *Hone* ask'd the Deponent, Master, shall we do nothing? Adding; That if the Duke of Monmouth would be true, and appear, he would bring 50 or 60 Men from the other side of the Water, to help to do the Business. And that the Deponent demanding what Business: He answer'd, A brisk Puff at the two Brothers. That being further question'd, What Brothers? He said, The Captain and Lieutenant; which were the counterfeit Names they sometimes used for the King and the Duke.

Then Sir *Nicholas Butler* deposed, He had known *Hone* many years, and always knew him guilty of plotting, contriving, and ready for such Enterprises as this: particularly that he had proposed taking off the King and the Duke with Cros-Bows from Bow-Steeple, whilst they were standing in a House directly over against it on the Lord Mayors Day: That *Hone* confess'd this very thing when examined before his Majesty: That he had also acquainted divers Persons, that he was to make one to kill the King and the Duke.

Then Captain *Richardson* swore, that the Prisoner confess'd to Sir *Nicholas Butler*, in his presence, that *Goodenough* came to him and told him, he wanted Labourers; That *Hone* asking him for what? *Goodenough* said it was to kill the King, and the Duke: That he did agree to be one of the Number; That *Hone* did say another time,

time, he was for killing the King, and saving the Duke; but that *Goodenough* was for both: That he told them of the business of the *Rye*, calling it the place where the King was to have been Murder'd.

To all this *Hone* made no other answer, but that he was drawn in by *Goodenough*; and as for killing the King from *Bow-steeple*, he was told of it by another. So the Jury found him Guilty without going out of the Court.

At his Execution, he own'd himself Guilty of the Crime, for which he stood condemn'd. Only alledging again, that he was drawn in. He confess'd also, he did say he was for killing the King, and saving the Duke of *York*.

On which last expression the Factious party immediately laid hold. And they have since most impudently made use of it, in their Libels both at home and abroad, to take the aspersion of this Conspiracy, off from themselves, insinuating that this saying of *Hones* (a Notorious Fanatick) must needs prove him to have been a conceald Papist. Whereas it is apparent, he said it upon a quite different account. Since it was a common opimon among them, that if they could but do the Kings businels, their work against the Duke would be much easier: A Lesson first taught them by their great Master the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. For when in one of their Trayturous Cabals, among other Considerations of time and place, for killing the Royal Brothers, that between *Hampton-Court* and *Windfor* was proposed and some excepted against it, because his Majesty and his Royal Highness seldom went that way together;

gether ; the said Earl advised them not to stand upon that, and not to omit the opportunity of making the King away for any such Objection ; giving this wicked reason for his advice, *That if the King were once dispatched, they should easily be able to deal with the Duke of York* ; grounding his Judgment on a most false Supposition, that the People were generally averse from his Royal Highness.

The next Criminal arraign'd was *William Lord Russel*, who was brought to his Tryal July the 13th of that year.

Against him Colonel Romzey depos'd, ‘ That in the end of October, or the beginning of November 1683, there met at Mr. Shepard's House in *Aberbury-Lane*, the Duke of Monmouth, the Lord Gray, the Lord Russel, Sir Thomas Armstrong and Ferguson : That the Earl of Shaftesbury desired him to go to them thither, to know what resolution was taken about the Rising of Taunton : That he did go, Mr. Shepard carried him up where they were, and he deliver'd his Message : That the Answer was, Mr. Trenchard had fail'd them ; and there could be no more done in the matter at that time : That there was at the same time a discourse by all the Company about seeing what posture the Guards were in, that they might know how to surprize them : That some of them undertook to go and see : That my Lord Russel in particular did speak about the Rising, and gave his consent to it.

Then Mr. Shepard sware, ‘ That in October last Ferguson inquested of him, in the Duke

‘of Monmouth’s Name, the conveniency of his
‘House, for some Persons of Quality to meet in;
‘That the same Day in the Evening the Duke of
‘Monmouth, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Russel*,
‘*Armstrong* and *Ferguson* came: That they desir’d
‘to be private, and none of his Servants to come
‘up.: That their discourse was, How to surprize
‘the Guards: That the Duke of *Monmouth*,
‘the Lord *Gray* and *Armstrong* went one Night
‘to the *Mues* to view them: That the next
‘time they came, *Armstrong* said, *The Guards*
‘were remiss, and the thing was feasible: That
‘they had two Meetings of this kind at his House;
‘That in one of them something was read by *Fer-*
‘*guson* in the nature of a Declaration, setting forth
‘the Grievances of the Nation in order to a Ri-
‘sing: That he could not say positively the Lord
‘*Russel* was there when it was read; but the said
‘Lord was there, when they talk’d of seizing the
‘Guards.

Then the Lord *Howard of Escrick* gave his De-
position, consisting of two parts, a general De-
claration of what he knew of the whole Conspira-
cy, and his particular Evidence touching the
Lord *Russel*’s being engaged in it.

In the general part, his Testimony was agree-
able to what has been already cited out of his Con-
fession to his Majesty; only in some passages he
was more particular as to Persons, especially con-
cerning Lieutenant Colonel *Walcot*, the Earl of
Shaftsbury, the Lord *Gray*, and the Duke of *Mon-*
mouth, as appears by the Printed Tryal.

But what peculiarly related to the Lord *Russel*
was to this effect; That after the Earl of *Shaft-*
bury’s

bury's Flight, the chief Persons concern'd in the Conspiracy in his time, began to consider they had gone so far it would be unsafe for them to make a retreat; and that so great an Affair consisting of so many Particulars, which were to be manag'd with so much fineness, it would be necessary to have some General Council: That therefore they resolv'd to erect a Cabal among themselves, which was made up of six Persons, the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Essex, the Lord Russel, Colonel Algernon Sydney, Mr. Hambden Junior, and the Deponent: That this was about the middle of the January before: That then they met at Mr. Hambden's House, where it was presently agreed, their proper Province was to take care of the whole: That the chief things they debated were, Whether the Insurrection should begin first in London or the Country; the Duke of Monmouth insisting, it should be first in the Country; then what Countries and Towns were fittest, and most ready for Action; then, what Arms were to be got, and how to be disposed; then that it was necessary to have a common Bank of 25 or 30000/. to answer the occasions of such an Undertaking; but that the greatest point was to order it so, as to draw Scotland into a consent with them; because it was requisite all diversion should be given to the Kings Forces.

That about Ten Days after every one of the same persons met again at the Lord Russel's House: That they then came to a resolution, of sending some Persons to the Earl of Argyle, to settle an Understanding with him, and that a Messenger

Messenger should be dispatch'd into Scotland, to invite some Scotch Men hither, who best understood the Estate of Scotland, to give an account of it: That the Persons agreed on to be sent for were Sir John Cockran, the Lord Melville, and one of the Name of Cambel: That to this purpose it was order'd, a Person should be thought on that was to be sent: That Colonel Sydney was intrusted to take care of that business: That the said Colonel told the Deponent, he had sent Aaron Smith: That then they agreed not to meet again till the return of the Messenger, who was gone about a Month before they heard any thing of him; though the Letter he carried, could have done no great hurt, had it been taken, because it was written in a kind of a Cant, under the disguise of a Plantation in Carolina: That all this Debate at the Lord Ruffel's went without contradiction, all there present giving their consent: That as for raising Money, every one was put to think of such a way, that Money might be collected without Adminiſtring Jealousie: That after this the Deponent met no more with them; but when he return'd out of the Country, he was inform'd Aaron Smith was come back, and that Sir John Cockran was also come to Town.

Then Atherbury the Kings Messenger depos-
ted, that the foresaid Cambel and his Son were ta-
ken in London, making their escape out of a Win-
dow in a Woodmongers House, four Days after
they had been in Town, during which space,
they confess'd they had change their Lodgings
three Times, and that they and Mr. Baillie of
Ferriwood came to Town together.

Against

Against this Evidence the Lord *Russel's* defence (besides some Objections in point of Law, wherein he was over-ruled by the Opinion of all the Judges there present) was to this purpose :

' That the two times they met, was upon no form'd Design, only to talk of News, and of things in general : That the Lord *Howard* having a voluble Tongue, they delighted to hear him discourse : That he knew of no such Council of Six chosen, for who should chuse them ? That the Witnesses against him swore to save their own Lives, and therefore could not be credible : That *Romzey* was notoriously known to have been highly obliged by the King and the Duke ; and it was strange he should be capable of such a Design as to Murder the King ; that no Body then could wonder, if to save his own Life, he should endeavour to take away another : That the time by the 13th of the King was elapsed, since the Prosecution was not made in the six Months : That a Design of Levying War is no Treason, except it appear by some Overt Act : That there was but one Meeting at *Shepard's* House, nor was he ever there but once : That then he came late, staid not above a quarter of an hour, tasting Sherry with *Shepard* ; and that there ought to be two VVitnesses to one and the same thing at the same time.

Then he produced VVitnesses to prove that the Lord *Howard*, before he was taken, declar'd *He believ'd the Lord Russel innocent, and knew nothing against him.*

The rest of his Justification consisted of the Testimony of several Persons concerning the Virtue and Sobriety of his former Life.

As to what concern'd the Lord Howard's saying, He believed the Lord Russel not to be guilty; it was answer'd by the Lord Howard himself, 'That he confess'd he had said so, being then himself not accused, so that he intended to out-face the thing both for himself and the Party; but now his Duty to God, the King and his Country requir'd it, he must say the Truth; and that though the Council of Six were not chosen by any Community, yet they did erect themselves by mutual Agreement one with another into that Society.

The rest was answer'd by the Kings Learned Council at Law, 'That he was not Try'd upon the 13th of the King, but upon the 25th of Edward the Third: That to Raise a Conspiracy within the Kingdom is what is call'd Levyng War by that Statute: That to design to seize on the King, or to depose him, or to raise the Subjects against him, hath been settled by several Resolutions of the Judges to be within that Statute, and Evidences of a Design to kill the King: That in Cases of Treason, it is not necessary there should be two VVitneses to the same individual Fact, at the same time; but if there be two VVitneses of things tending to the same Fact, though at several times, and upon several occasions, it is sufficient: That if there be one Witness of one Act of Treason, another of a second, another of a third, they will be enough to Convict a Man of High Treason: That

That so it was determin'd by the Opinion of all the Judges in *England*, and by the Lords in Parliament in the Lord *Stafford's* Case.

It was farther urged; That the *VVitnesseſſes* against the Lord *Ruffel* were not profligate Persons, nor Men who wanted Faith and Credit before that time; but such against whom there had been no legal Exceptions made by himself:

That there was no Contradiction, no Correspondence or Contrivance at all between them; and that it cannot be imagined such Men should Damn their own Souls to take away the Life of a Gentleman, against whom they had no Quarrel.

As for *Ramzey's* being much obliged to the King and the Duke, That it was apparent by many Instances, that no such, though the greatest Obligations, had hinder'd ill Men from Conspiring against his Majesty. For was not the Earl of *Exſſex*, were not divers others of the Conspirators in like manner obliged, and advanced in Estate and Honour by the King?

As to their coming only to *Shepard's* to taste *VVine*, it was said, That could not have been the end of their Meeting: VVhy did they then come so privately? VVhy then did they order none of the Servants to come up? It was plain the Design they met on, requir'd only such Persons to be present as had an Affection for the Cause.

It was also urg'd, That it is not a good Objection against a Man being Evidence in High Treason, that he himself was engaged in it; but that such Men are the most proper Persons to

' be Evidence, none but they being able to detect
' such Counsels.

As for the several Divines, and Men of Honour and Quality produced to testifie the Virtue and Sobriety of the Lord *Russel's* Conversation ; it was answer'd, ' That an Affectation of Popularity has often proved a Snare strong enough to tempt many Men, who have otherwise been of great Temperance and Virtue. Nor indeed can there be any more dangerous Enemies to a State or Kingdom, than such as come sober to endeavour its Destruction. Which old and true Observation was signally exemplified in this particular Case of the Lord *Russel* : For *West* depos'd, ' That the Underacters in the Treason most depended on the said Lord, for this very reason, because they look'd on him as a Man of great Sobriety.

Upon the whole Process he was found guilty of High Treason. But instead of Drawing, Hanging and Quartering, the usual and legal Penalty of that Crime, the Execution was by his Majesties Clemency chang'd into that of Beheading. Though it is well known, this very Prerogative of the Kings having it in his Power to alter the Punishment of High Treason, had been vehemently disputed by the Party, and particularly by the Lord *Russel* himself in the Lord *Stafford's* Case.

The said Lord *Russel* at the time of his Death, which was the 21st of that Month, deliver'd a Paper to the Sheriffs, and left other Copies of it with his Friends, whereby it was immediately dispers'd amongst the People ; the general drift of it being to make odious Insinuations against the Govern-

Government, invidious Reflections on the Ministers of his Majesties Justice, and undue Externations of his own Fault.

As to the whole Matter of it, Time, the best Discoverer, and Light of Truth, has since shewn it to be full of Enormous Falshoods : And for the manner of its Composure, it was such, as rather became the Subtilty, Artifice and Equivocation of some crafty hypocritical Confessor, or Presbyterian Casuist, than the Noble plainness and simplicity of a Gentleman ; especially of One who in this very Paper so much boasts of the Sincerity and Candour of his whole Life, and of his perpetual hatred of Tricks and Evasions.

Among divers other notorious Shifts and Prevarications contain'd in it, this is observable, That in this Paper he declares solemnly he never was at *Shepard's* in that Company but once, as in his Tryal he had affirm'd absolutely he never was there but once : whereas, besides what *Shepard* positively swore, ' That he was more than once there, ' and in that very Company ; the said Lord *Russel* himself also, when he was Examin'd in the Tower by his Majesties Command June 28th, confess'd ' He had been at *Shepard's* House frequently ; which Confession after it was written down, read and repeated by himself, he in great Agitation of Mind desir'd he might alter it. And the Alteration he made was to put in *divers times* in stead of *frequently*. The Truth of which appears by the Original thus subscribed, and corrected by the Lord *Russel* ; and by the known Integrity of Sir *Leolyn Jenkins*, Sir *John Erny*, and his Majesties Attorney-General and Sollicitor-General,

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who receiv'd the Examination, and have attested the Alteration.

The Lord *Russel* likewise in the Printed Speech affirms, *His intention of going to Shepards was to taste Sherry*; and in his Tryal he said, *He staid not above a quarter of an Hour there tasting of Sherry*. Though presently after in the very same Paper, forgetting what he had said; he acknowledges, *He was desir'd to go thither by the Duke of Monmouth, upon a busines of greater consequence than the tasting of Sherry*: Which was, *That the Duke of Monmouth call'd upon him to tell him, that the Earl of Shaftsbury and some other hot Men would undo them all, if great care were not taken; and therefore intreated him to go with him to Shepards*. To this he adds, *That when he came thither, there were things spoken by some with much more heat than Judgment*; Things of the same Nature, no doubt, with those he confess'd to have heard before in the Earl of *Shaftsbury's Company*, which made the Duke of *Monmouth* himself cry out, *Did you ever hear so Horrid a thing?* However all these Treasonable Discourses about making some *Stirs* as he stiles them, the said Lord would fain have had pass only for Misprision of Treason. Though it is remarkable that in all those his last Words, there is no more sign of his asking Forgiveness of God or the King, for his confess'd Misprision, than for the High Treason. Moreover in the same printed Paper he solemnly avows, *There was no undertaking at Shepards for seizing the Guards; none appointed to view or examine them; only that there was some discourse then, and at other times, about the feasibleness of it*; adding,

ding, That several times by accident he heard it mention'd, as a thing might easily be done. By which and other the like concessions in that Speech he well nigh grants himself Guilty of the Crime whereof he was accus'd; since the Judges often assur'd him, that those discourses and consultations not reveald are High Treason.

He farther says, it was by a strange fetch, that a design of seizing on the Guards was construed a design of killing the King. But that this construction was no such strange fetch, Colonel Walcot himself might have inform'd him; who both at his Trial, and his Execution, did with far more Truth and Ingenuity allow, that it was the same thing for him to engage the Kings Guards, whilst another kill'd him, as to kill him with his own Hands.

Though, to put this whole matter out of question, touching that Consultation at Shepards, for seizing the Guards, his Majesty declares on the Faith of a King, appealing also to the Memory of his Royal Highness to confirm the same, That the Duke of Monmouth did, in express Terms confess this very particular, and all the circumstances of it to his Majesty at the time of his rendring himself: Namely, That the foresaid debate of surprizing the Guards was at Shepards; that the Lord Russel was one of the Persons debating it; that the result was, the Duke of Monmouth, the Lord Gray and Sir Thomas Armstrong should go view the Guards in order to seize them; that accordingly they three did go, and take a view of them to that end; and that the report they made to the same Company at their next Meeting was, that the thing might be done, if they had any considerable strength.

But

But what need any farther Proof of the insincerity of the Lord *Russel's* last Justification, than the foremention'd Deposition of *Carstares*? An Evidence not only by Law unquestionable, but such as cannot but be esteem'd by the very Conspirators themselves of invincible strength and conviction : Since he was a Man eminent in their Party, and one of their principal seducing Teachers. And what the said *Carstares* depos'd relating to the Lord *Russel*, his Majesty thinks fit to be repeated here again. It was, *That when he return'd into England out of Holland, where he had been to concert matters with the Earl of Argyle, for promoting the General Conspiracy; the next Day he met with Sir John Cockran, and having acquainted him with the Earl of Argyle's demands of 30000 l. Sterling, and the Thousand Horse and Dragoons, Sir John Cockran carried the said Carstares to the Lord Russel; to whom he proposed the affair, but being then a perfect stranger, had no return from him at that time.* That afterwards the Deponent met with the Lord Russel accidentally at *Shepard's House*, where as *Shepard affirm'd the said Lord was come to speak with him about the Money before mention'd.* *That when the other two had done talking, Carstares himself desir'd to speak with the Lord Russel; and that in his discourse with him, having reiterated the former proposition for the 30000 l. and the Thousand Horse, and Dragoons, the Lord Russel answer'd in these very Words; They could not get so much Money rais'd at the time, but if they had 10000 l. to begin, that would draw People in, and when they were once in, they would soon be brought to more.* But as for the

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1000 Horse and Dragoons, he could say nothing at the present, for that behoved to be concert'd on the Borders.

By which plain Deposition, agreeing with so many other Witnesses, it is manifest that when they whom the Lord *Russel* trusted with Composing his last Speech, permitted him to affirm on the word of a Dying Man, *He knew nothing of any Design against the King or Kingdom*, either they did grossly prevaricate with him, or he with them.

His Majesty has judg'd it convenient that the whole Proceeding with the Lord *Russel* should be thus particularly recollect'd, as well that one great Instance for all might be given of the Impartiality and fair course in which the publick Justice was administer'd against the Conspirators, as also that it might appear with what weak Cavils, Ambiguities and Tergiversations they defended themselves both living and dying. For the others who were afterwards brought to condign Punishment, it will not be so needful to descend into every minute part of their Tryals, Condemnations and Executions, which have been already faithfully published; especially since those that followed made most of the same Objections in Law and Fact as were before most solidly answer'd. It will be enough only to make some few Observations, where any new Matter shall arise, for the fuller Demonstration of the wicked Design.

On July the 13th of that Year, was *John Rannie* brought to Tryal. Against him there was ample

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Evidence given. First by *Thomas Lea*; ' That
 ' the said *Rouse* undertook to provide 100 Arms
 ' for the City-Divisions: That he said, *Nothing*
could be done unless the King were seiz'd; adding,
We remember Forty One, when the King went and
set up his Standard; therefore we will seize them
that they shall not set up their Standard.

' That he farther said, It would be convenient
 ' to have a Ball plaid on *Black-Heath*; to that end
 ' some Sea-Captains must be spoken to, he promi-
 ' sing to speak to Ten: That when the Ball should
 ' be won, every Captain might take his Party,
 ' and tell them they had other VVork, and then
 ' go with long Boats and Arms to seize the
 ' Tower: That the said *Rouse* had several such
 ' Discourses, and went divers times to view the
 ' Tower to that end: That after the Discovery he
 ' said to *Goodenough* and *Nelthrop*, *Be not discon-*
rag'd, but let the Business go on: That he said,
Take off the King and the Duke, and then no Man
can have Commission to fight for them: That he
 ' also affirm'd, *He was under an Oath of Secrecy;*
never to trust but one at a time with the De-
sign.

Then by *William Leigh*, ' That the said *Rouse*
 ' farther endeavour'd to get Seamen to seize on,
 ' and Command some of the Kings Ships, lying
 ' as Guard-Ships at *Woolwich* and *Deptford*: That
 ' being ask'd, *What he would do with Ships without*
Powder and Shot, with which they could not be pro-
vided except the Tower were surpriz'd? He re-
 ' ply'd, *We must secure the Tower and Whitehal*
both, or we can do nothing.

A K

And

And farther, to prove the said *Rouse's* former
Trayterous Temper of Mind against his Majesties
Government, it was sworn by Mr. Corbin, That
upon some discourse concerning the Parliament at
Oxford, *Rouse* said, He foresaw it would be a short
Sessions, but that these frequent Prorogations and
Dissolutions of Parliament would not avail him
For whatever the King has, the Parliament gave
him, and they may take it away when they please:
That the King had forfeited his Crown, and had
no more Right to it than he had.

Against this all the Defence *Rouse* made was,
That the words attested by *Corbin*, were spoken
upon a Supposition of the Popes Power over
Princes: That as for *William Lea* he had no-
thing to say against him, but hoped he was an
honest Man; and for *Thomas Lea*, that the said
Lea himself first began those Treasonable Dis-
courses, which *Rouse* intended to have revealed,
had not the other got the start of him. But this
being only supported by his single Yea and Nay,
without the Credit of any one Witness to streng-
then it, the Jury presently gave their Verdict that
he was Guilty.

For divers Years before he had been a most
Notorious *Boutefou* in the City of *London*; and
was one of the many scandalous Examples of the
gross Corruption and Iniquity of the Ignoramus-
Juries of that time, he having been unjustly
acquitted by them, when in the Year 1681, he
was Indicted of high Crimes, particularly for
those Trayterous Words mentioned in *Corbin's*
Evidence.

But

But at last the Divine vengeance overtook him in this manner. At his Death among other things he ingenuously confess'd, he had deserved the Sentence pass'd against him ; that he had heard and understood too much in several kinds of Meetings, especially of some, who though they call'd themselves True Protestants, were Ten Thousand times worse than any others.

On November the 7th of the said Year 1683, was Colonel *Algernon Sydney* arraign'd, having sued out his *Habeas Corpus* ; and on the 21st he was brought to his Tryal. He was Indicted for being one of their Great Council of Six ; for sending *Aaron Smith* into *Scotland* ; and for Writing a most Treasonable Libel against the Government, which was found in his Closet on the Table, when his Papers were seiz'd.

As to the said Colonels having been one of their Council of Six, and present at, and consenting to all their Deliberations, at Mr. *Hamden's* and the Lord *Russel's* the Lord *Howard* deposed to the same sense as he had done at the Lord *Russel's* Tryal ; adding now one particular, which more especially affected Colonel *Sydney* ; That the said Colonel, the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the Deponeat were the first Movers of erecting that Council; the Duke of *Monmouth* undertaking to incline the Lord *Russel* to it, and Mr. *Sydney* promising for the Earl of *Essex* and Mr. *Hamden* to do the like. Touching the Second Article, His sending *Aaron Smith* into *Scotland* to invite some Scottish Men hither, the Lord *Howard* farther witness'd, That

That at their first Meeting at Mr. *Hambden's*, amongst other matters, it was chiefly debated how to make a coalition of Councils between them and *Scotland*; That to this purpose it was propos'd some fit Person should be thought on to send thither to unite them and the English Conspirators into one sense and care: That this was discours'd of at the first Meeting.

That at the next, which was at my Lord *Russel's House*, every one of the same Persons being present, they fell to Consult of what they had charg'd themselves with the time before; concerning sending into *Scotland*; and also the settling a Correspondence with *Argyle*: That the Scotch Gentlemen Named to be sent to were *Melvin*, *Cockran* and the *Cambells*: That Colonel *Sydney* offer'd he would take care of the Person to be sent; saying, he had one in his thoughts whom he judg'd a fit Man to be trusted, naming *Aaron Smith* for the Man: That as many of the Company as knew him, thought him a very proper Person for that employment: That the Duke of *Monmouth* undertook to invite *Melvin* hither; and a Letter was to be sent to *Cockran* by *Smith*: That these Scotchmen were to be desired to come, and acquaint their Council here, how they found *Scotland* temper'd; what opportunities or advantages ther'd might be of putting that Kingdom into a Commotion; and how they might there keep time and place with the English.

That shortly after this, the Deponent went to Colonel *Sydney's*, and found him just going into London: That the said Colonel took out of a

' Cabinet several Guineas, saying, They were to
be given to Aaron Smith for his Expences : That
he was sent accordingly ; and the Colonel told
the Deponent afterwards, He was gone, and was
upon the Road, and that he had heard from him
when he was about Newcastle.

It was next plainly prov'd, That those Scotch-
men came up soon after Smith arrived there. This
was sworn by Sir Andrew Foster, that Cockran,
Monroe, and the two Cambels came to Town
about the end of the Spring, or the beginning of
Summer ; Cockran and Monroe pretending their
Business was a Purchase in Carolina ; and that
upon the very first rumour of a Plot, Cockran ab-
scended, Monroe and the Cambels were taken.

To this purpose Astbenbury the Messenger also
deposed, ' That about the end of June, or the
beginning of July 1683, he was sent by his Ma-
jesties VVarrant into London, upon a discovery
of some Scotch men lodging in Black-Friars ;
but the Common-Sergeant of the City and others
having been there before him, found them ma-
king their escape in a Boat : That the Persons
were Sir Hugh Cambel, Cockran, and another :
That this was after they had been in Town but
a little while.' The next Head of the Accusation concern'd the
Treasonable Pamphlet found in Colonel Sydney's
Study at the time of his Apprehension. To
this, first Sir Philip Lloyd Clerk of his Majesties
Council deposed, ' That having been sent by the
King and Council to seize Colonel Sydney's Pa-
pers, he did go and pull up what he found in
his Glass, & That he found these Papers now
given

given in Evidence lying upon his Table where he usually writ: That he seiz'd them towards the later end of June: That having put them up, he offer'd Colonel Sydney that he might Seal them with his own Seal, but he refusing; the Deponent set his Seal to them, and so deliver'd them to the Council:

Next it was made out, by as firm Proof as such a matter will bear, That all the Sheets produced were of Colonel Sydney's own Hand-writing, which was evide[n]t by Mr. Shepard, Mr. Cook, and Mr. Cary, Men of known Repute and Credit, who had long dealt with Mr. Sydney in Matters of Money, and had paid divers Bills of Exchange for him; upon Notes written in the same Hand, and were never call'd to any account for Mis-payment.

Then were the Papers read, containing tank Treason almost in every Line:

For therein were broach'd and asserted many horrible Doctrines both against Monarchy in general, and the English Monarchy in particular: which according to the usual false Reasoning of all Republican Writers, he endeavour'd to justify by divers Quotations and Examples of Sacred and Prophane History grossly perverted, and misapplied against the present Government of his Country.

In short, the whole design of those Papers was to maintain, *That Tyrants may be justly deposed by the People; and that the People are the only Judges who are Tyrants.* And peculiarly concerning this Nation there are these Expressions:

Ques T

The

' The Power originally in the People of Eng-
 ' land is delegated to the Parliament. He, the
 ' King, is subject to the Law of God, as he is a
 ' Man ; to the People that makes him a King, in
 ' as much as he is a King : The Law sets a Mea-
 ' sure to that Subjection : The Parliament is Judge
 ' of the particular Cases thereupon arising : He
 ' must be content to submit his Interest to theirs,
 ' since he is no more than any one of them in any
 ' other respect, than that he is by consent of all
 ' rais'd above any other : If he doth not like this
 ' Condition, he may renounce the Crown : But
 ' if he receive it upon this Condition, (as all Ma-
 ' gistrates do the Power they receive) and swear
 ' to perform it, he must expect the Performance
 ' will be exacted, or Revenge taken by those he
 ' hath betray'd.

And in another place he says, ' We may there-
 ' fore change or take away Kings without break-
 ' ing any Yoak ; or that is made a Yoak, which
 ' ought not to be one. The Injury is in making,
 ' and imposing, and there can be none in break-
 ' ing it.

And in another, ' That the People must needs
 ' be the Judge of what happens between them,
 ' and the King, whom they did constitute. And
 ' in another, that as for the Peoples being Jud-
 ' ges in their own Cases, it is plain they ought to
 ' be the only Judges.

And in another, ' That the Power of calling and
 ' dissolving Parliaments is not in the King. And
 ' in another, ' That the general revolt of a Nation
 ' from its own Magistrates can never be call'd a
 ' Rebellion.

These

These are some of the Treasonable Tenets contain'd in Mr. *Sydney's* Papers, amongst many other Assertions that are equally Criminal, but too long to be here inserted. Concerning all which Villainous Opinions this is certainly known, and confess'd by all good Men, That as they laid the Foundations of the late miserable War against his Majesties blessed Father; and thereby occasion'd the spilling so much Blood, even of the Royal Blood it self; so when-ever the Multitude shall be infected with the like Antimonarchical Doctrines, it will be impossible for the best Kings, or the most happy Kingdoms in the VVorld, to be free from perpetual Treasons, and Rebellious Plotting.

To all this Colonel *Sydney's* Answer being only made up of most of the same Pleas in Law that had been over-ruled, and the same Objections against the Lord *Howard* which were satisfactorily repell'd in the former Tryals: besides that he only barely deny'd the sending of *Aaron Smith*, and his having any hand in, or knowledge of that Message: And as for his Treasonable Papers, he would not grant them to be his, or if they were found in his Study, he affirm'd *That they might have been written many Years ago in answer to Sir R. Philmer's Book of Monarchy; and written with no intention of publishing them; but only for private diversion, and the exercise of his Pen.* In short, his Defence consisting rather in Nice Cavils at the known Forms of Law, or Discourses ridiculing the Design of a Council of Six, and the whole Conspiracy it self, than in any solid Arguments or Evidence to invalidate the

A True Account

the Witnesses, or to clear himself from the Crimes proved upon him, he was presently found Guilty.

His Execution in respect of his Quality, his Majesty alter'd from the usual Punishment of High Treason, into that of Severing his Head from his Body. At the time of his Death on December the 7th he also deliver'd the Sheriffs a Written Paper: Wherein, after having excus'd his not speaking what he wrote, by alledging this reason among others, *That this was an Age, which makes Truth pass for Treason*, he objects against the Lord Howard the Infamy of his former Life; which Objection no Man in England had less cause to make than himself, the Lord Howard and he having been known to be entire Confidants, Familiars and Friends for many Years past of their Lives, and till the very time of the Discovery.

Touching his Papers produced against him, he gives an account full of manifest Equivocations, and ambiguous Reservations. He sufficiently intimates they were his own; but implies they were written long ago, against a Book of Controversie in Matters of Government. Thereupon he goes on, openly to justify those Papers, by Positions dangerous enough to the Publick Peace, but quite different from what was laid to his charge at his Trial, and was quoted word by word out of those Papers: For instead of being a general Discourse for the Peoples Rights against Kings, without any particular Application to This or That, as in this his last Paper he insinuates them to have been, it is apparent to any Man that can but read,

that those Sheets of his Writing, which were given in Evidence, strook at the very Root of the English Monarchy, and that therein he studied to do his part to bring the Ax very near the Kings Neck once again.

He farther, in that printed Speech, most injuriously reviles his Judges, affirming with notorious falsehood and petulance, *That lest the Means of destroying the best Protestants in England should fail, the Bench was fill'd with such as had been Blasphemers to the Bar.*

He goes on to make divers the like frivolous and groundless Reflections on the legal and regular Proceedings against him ; concluding with a Prayer that could be dictated by none but a fierce Republican, and a furious Enthusiastical Spirit met together. It was in truth a Prayer more proper for their Treasonable Meetings at Mr. Hambden's or the Lord Russel's, than to be used as the last words of a Gentleman dying in the profession of his Innocency.

For after having fondly declar'd, That he fell a Sacrifice to Idols, he thus addresses his Speech to the great God of Heaven : *Bless thy People, and save them. Defend thy own Cause ; Defend those that defend it. Stir up such as are faint. Direct those that are willing. Confirm those that waver. Give Wisdom and Integrity unto all. Grant that I may die glorifying thee for all thy Mercies ; and that at the last thou hast permitted me to be singled out as a Witness of thy Truth, and even by the Confession of my Opposers, for that Old Cause in which I was from my Youth engaged, and for which thou hast often wonderfully declar'd thy self.*

tl

He

He makes it his last Glory, *That he was engag'd in that Old Cause from his Youth*; and he was so. Being yet very Young he took up Rebellious Arms against his Majesties Blessed Father, and merited so well of that Old Cause, that he was thought rightly qualifi'd to be Named, though he did not actually sit, amongst the black Number of the Regicides.

Upon his Majesties most happy Return, his fixt aversion to the restor'd Government was such, that he would not personally accept of the Oblivion and Indempnity then generally granted to the whole Nation. But he voluntarily banish'd himself for many Years; till about the Year 1677, he came into *England* again and by his Majesties special Grace, obtain'd a particular Pardon, upon repeated promises of constant quiet, and Obedience for the time to come: Which how he made good, the World may Judge. In fine, he fell a memorable warning, and fatal Example to the English Nobility and Gentry of this, and all future Ages; that they should take heed of being so far infatuated with the fancie and Chimerical Felicities of Antient or Modern Commonwealths, as to despise and attempt the ruine of the far more solid Liberty and happiness to be enjoy'd under the English Monarchy.

On the 28th Day of November 1683, Mr. John Hambden Junior, having also sued out his *Habeas Corpus*, was arraign'd for High Misde-meanor, and brought to his Tryal the 6th of February following.

In

In this Tryal, the Lord Howard positively de-
pos'd to the same sense as before touching the ge-
neral Transactions of the Conspiracy till the Earl
of Shaftsbury's Death; and particularly afterwards
of the Meeting of the Council of Six at Mr.
Hambden's own House, where Mr. Hambden made
an Introductory Speech to open the Assembly;
and the subject of their Debates was concerning
the Time, Place, Men, Arms and Money to be
provided towards a Rising; and also that then
the sending a Messenger into Scotland was pro-
posed, and referred to be debated the next Meet-
ing.

Farther, That Mr. Hambden was present at that
next Meeting at the Lord Russel's House; and
amongst the rest deliberated of sending the Mes-
senger into Scotland; when Aaron Smith was na-
med, and approved to be the Man.

But the substance of the Lord Howard's Evi-
dence having been before sufficiently set down, it
will be needless now to follow exactly every Cir-
cumstance of it. It is enough only to note, That
most of the same Objections being again repeated
by the Defendants Council, had the same or like
Answers return'd them by the Kings.

There was indeed one new and very material
thing; then first particularly, and unquestionably
made out in this Tryal, which was the certainty of
Aaron Smith's carrying the Treasonable Message in-
to Scotland. This was now demonstrably proved
by Sheriff and Bell, both Inhabitants of Newcastle;
Sheriff being the Man at whose House Smith lay
in his passage to and fro, and Bell the very Guide
that went thence to conduct him into Scotland.

Touching this Matter; First, *Attibury* one
 of the Kings Messengers testified, ' That *Sheriff*
 and *Bell* had a full view of *Aaron Smith*, who
 was brought for that purpose from the *Kings-*
Bench before the King : That *Sheriff* and *Bell*
 did then own *Aaron Smith* to be the Man who
 had pass'd under the Name of *Clerk* : That
Sheriff declar'd the said *Clerk* lay at his House ;
 and *Bell* said that he travell'd towards *Scotland*
 with him, being hired to shew him the way :
 That to all this *Aaron Smith* would not answer
 one word.

Then *Sheriff* himself depos'd, ' That he keep-
 ing the *Black-Spread-Eagle* in *Newcastle*, *Aaron*
Smith came to his House about the middle of
February 1683 : That he staid there one Night,
 went away, and return'd again in twelve days,
 or thereabout : That he travell'd from his House
 Northward towards *Scotland*, but first desir'd
 one might be got to shew him the way : That
 to that purpose the Deponent sent for *Bell*, whom
Smith presently hired to go with him : That
 when *Smith* came back, he lay another Night
 at his House, and so return'd into the South to-
 wards *London* : That *Smith* went all the while
 by the Name of *Clerk* : That the Deponent di-
 rected him to a Gentleman at *Falburgh*, which
 is Forty Miles from *Newcastle*, and within Six
 Miles of *Scotland*.
 Then *Bell* swore, ' That *Aaron Smith* was the
 very Man who went by the Name of *Clerk* :
 That the Deponent living at *Newcastle* liv'd and
 getting his Livelyhood by letting out Horses and
 guiding of Travellers, *Sheriff* sent for him,
 told

‘ told him the said Clerk wanted a Guide into Scotland: That this happened on the Thursday before Shroove Tuesday; That the next Morning being Friday, he conducted Smith towards Edinburgh; that on the Saturday the Deponents Horse was tyr'd; so Smith left him taking another Guide, appointing him to come after as fast as he could to Edinburgh: That the Deponent overtook him there on Sunday; and on Monday Morning saw him take Horse with another Guide for Scotland, saying he was going towards Douglas: That Bell presently went back to Newcastle where he saw Smith and discours'd with him upon his return out of Scotland.

Then it was also proved by Sir Andrew Foster and Atcherbury, That the Scotch Men sent for by Smith Message, did come, and staid in Town, till upon the Discovery of the Plot, they were either taken or absconded.

By this plain Evidence of the several Stages of Smith's Journey, that Treasonable Intercourse with Scotland was made out beyond all Possibility of Confutation. So that from the very time of the Consultations at Mr. Hambden, and the Lord Russel's about sending a Messenger; the Truth of Colonel Sydney's undertaking to send one; of his naming Aaron Smith for the Messenger; of Smith's going to Scotland; of the Scotch Mens coming up; that were sent for; and of their being surprized by endeavouring to hide themselves, upon the first breaking forth of the Plot, all this appears to be indisputably confirm'd, and made step by step, almost from Day to Day, especially if these Newcastle Mens Depositions shall be compar'd with the

the Testimony that is subjoin'd of two Scotch-Men, Thomas Steel, and John Oliver; concerning Aaron Smith's actual arrival in Scotland, and what he did whilst he was there at that time.

The issue was, Mr. Hambden was immediately found Guilty of the High Treason and Misdeemeanor, and thereupon fined 40000l. to the King; and order'd to give Sureties for his Good Behavior during Life. A Punishment that cannot but be esteem'd very moderate, considering the Nature of his Crime, which nothing but the want of another positive Witness could have made less than High Treason. And the King cannot but here take this occasion, once for all, to give the World Notice of this Infallible Instance of his mild and merciful Proceedings towards the Conspirators. For his Majesty does solemnly declare, 'That if he had not granted the Duke of Monmouth's Request, That he would not make him a Witness, neither Mr. Hambden, nor scarce any one Man of all those that were freed upon Bail, had escaped Death. Nor to mention divers others, whom the said Duke of Monmouth named as Parties in the Conspiracy, that were never yet question'd.'

On the 14th of June 1684, Sir Thomas Armstrong having been taken in Holland, was brought to the Kings-Bench-Bar, upon an Outlawry against him for High Treason. Whereupon the Kings Attorney demanded An Award of Execution. Since upon his not appearing, when formerly Indicted of High Treason, he was now by the course of Law attainted for the same. Sir Thomas Armstrong

Armstrong being ask'd, What he could say for himself? alledg'd, He was beyond Sea at the time of the Outlawry, and beg'd he might be Try'd.

It was answer'd, That after a Record of Outlawry, the Judges had nothing to do but to appoint Execution.

Against this Armstrong urg'd, That by the Statute of the 6th of Edward the Sixth, the Person Outlaw'd had a Years time to Reverse the Outlawry, if he were beyond Sea.

The Bench reply'd, That by the plain words of that Statute; none could have the benefit of it; but such as within one Year should yield themselves to the Chief Justice of England, and offer to Traverse the Indictment upon which the Outlawry was Pronounc'd.

To this Armstrong pleaded, That the Year not being yet out, he did now render himself to the Chief Justice.

But that Plea not being admitted, because he did not yield himself according to the sense of the Act, but was brought a Prisoner, and so could have no Advantage of the Proviso in the Statute; Armstrong alledg'd, That the same Favour had been lately granted to another, meaning Holloway, who though he was in the same Condition of Outlawry, yet was offer'd to take his Tryal if he pleas'd.

It was answer'd, That was done out of the meer Grace and Favour of the King, who if his Majesty thought good might extend the like Favour to him also. But that was not the business of a Court of Justice; they were only to take care to satisfie the Law.

Moreover, the Kings Attorney acquainted the Court, ‘ That the Prisoner at the Bar deserv’d no sort of Indulgence or Mercy from the King ; not only for that when he was seiz’d beyond Sea, Letters of fresh Communication with Foreign Ministers and other People were taken about him, but also because it appear’d to his Majesty by full Evidence positively given, That after the Disappointment of the Meeting at the Rye by Gods Providence in the Fire at Newmarket, Armstrong was one of the Persons that actually engag’d to go upon the Kings hasty coming to Town, and to destroy him by the way as he came.

Then was he order’d to be Executed *June* the 20th. At the place of Execution he likewise deliver’d the Sheriffs a Paper, wherein he continued to Object against the legal Course of the Proceedings upon him, complaining, ‘ That with an ordinary roughness he had been condemn’d, and made a President, though Holloway, being also Outlaw’d, had his Tryal offer’d him a little before.

As to the new Evidence against him, which the Kings Attorney mention’d at the *Kings-Bench*, he only answer’d it by a bold and flat denial ; affirming upon his Death, *He never had any Design against the Kings Life, nor the Life of any Man*; both which may be easily allow’d to be equally true.

But to evince the contrary as to the Kings Life, it will be sufficient to set down the very words of the Lord Howard’s Deposition, together with the Testimony of Colonel Romzey, which the Kings Attorney had then ready to produce, amongst
et cetera many

many other old and clear Proofs to convince him of designing the Kings Destruction.

The Lord *Howard* having first confess'd some Discourse between the Duke of *Monmouth* and himself, in *October* of 1683, wherein the said Duke had proposed the falling on the King at *Newmarket*, goes on in these words :

' Upon Reflection I am apt to think, that from this time and not before, the Design of way-laying the King in his return to *London*, was first meditated. And I am the more confirm'd in this Opinion from the Consideration of the Behaviour of the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Lord *Gray*; who seem'd to be very big of expectation of some great thing to be attempted upon the Day of the Kings coming from *Newmarket*; upon which Day (as I have before observ'd) Sir *Thomas Armstrong* was not be found till the Kings Coaches were come into Town : And I do verily believe he was to have Headed the Party.

This very Particular the Lord *Howard* gave in upon Oath among his first Confessions to his Majesty. Nor can any Man think it sufficient to invalidate the Truth of this, that *Armstrong* in his last Paper calls it a *base Reflection*, affirming *He could have prov'd it to be a manifest Falshood*; considering that Colonel *Romzey* also upon notice of *Armstrong's* being taken, made Oath in these very words :

' Sir *Thomas Armstrong* did come to me the Sunday-Night after the Fire at *Newmarket*, and told me, That he just came from *Ferguson*, and that notwithstanding the King and Duke were

' were to return so soon , yet Ferguson did not
' doubt to have Men ready by that time to do
' the Busines ; and desired me to go with him to
' Ferguson's Lodging in his Coach , which I did .
' When I came there , Ferguson told me the same ,
' but that they wanted Money . Upon which
' Sir Thomas desired me to Lend some , and he
' would see me Repaid ; and added , That if he
' had been in Stock , he would have done it him-
' self .

After this , the King could not think himself
in the least bound to go out of the way of the Law ,
for shewing any distinguishing Act of Grace to
Sir Thomas Armstrong ; especially when it is ma-
nifest there was scarce a Man living , who had
more Personal obligations to his Majesty than he
had ; and yet no Man had made more ungrateful
returns for them , than he had done . Nor could
his Majesty forget , how many other Persons , and
some very near his Majesty , Sir Thomas Arm-
strong had been the Chief Instrument of pervert-
ing . Upon which account his Majesty had rea-
son to look on him , as the Author of many more
Treasons besides his own .

There is now scarce any thing material left un-
mention'd relating to the Proof either of the Assas-
sination or Insurrection , but what may be readily
supplied by any intelligent Reader , out of the
Original Records of Informations and Confessi-
ons , whereof by his Majesties Command , there
are Copies annext to this Narration for an Au-
thentick Confirmation of its Truth . Only the
King is pleas'd that a more particular account
should be given than has been hitherto made Pub-
lick ,

lick, of the Duke of Monmouth's rendering himself, of the Reasons then moving his Majesty to grant him his Pardon, and of what happen'd immediately upon it, in which occasion'd the said Duke's final Disgrace and Banishment from his Majesties presence.

As to the late Earl of Essex's Murdering himself in the Tower some few Days after his Imprisonment there, His Majesty cannot think it becomes him to descend to any particular Justification of his own, or his Ministers Innocency in that Calamitous Accident.

Though his Majesty is not Ignorant, that divers most Malicious Pamphlets have been lately spread abroad in English, and other Languages, which with an unparellell'd Impudence have accus'd several Persons of eminent Virtue and Honour about his Majesty, not sparing even his Royal Highness; nay scarce freeing the King himself, from being Personally Conscious of so Base and Barbarous an Action.

But after the Truth of the whole matter has been carefully examin'd and asserted by the Coroners Inquest, whose proper Busines it was; and after Braddon has suffer'd the Punishment of the Law, for Suborning even Children to bear false Witness in the Case; and after the Notoriety of the Fact, and all the Circumstances of it, have been so clearly made out, that there is not a Man in all England, of an honest Mind, or sound Sense, who does in the least doubt it; his Majesty disdains to enter into dispute with every Pe-

P p tulant

tulant Scribler, or to answer the villainous Suggestions and horrid Calumnies contain'd particularly in the Libel call'd *The Detection*, and in the Epitome of it; the one written by *Ferguson*, the other by *Darvers*; both infamous Men, and mortal Enemies to his Majesties Government and Person.

Yet his Majesty cannot but think it deserves Observation, That when the late Earl of *Essex* had so many considerable Relations and Alliances with divers the greatest Families in the Kingdom; and when neither his Lady, nor Brother, nor any one of all his Numerous Friends and Noble Kindred, who were most nearly concern'd, did ever express the least Jealousie of foul dealing or ill practise upon the said unfortunate Earl; and when all Mens Eyes are open'd, and scarce a Man of their own Party has any scruple in his Thoughts about that Busines; yet that now at last their old Advocate of Treason *Ferguson* should come forth in Print, to out-face so clear a Demonstration of Truth, and should try still to turn the Envy of that unhappy Stroak on the Court, and the King, and his dearest Brother. It cannot but seem a prodigious Confidence and Presumption, that *Ferguson* should be their chosen Champion in this Cause! The Man, who by so many Depositions stands Outlaw'd and Convict of having had the greatest share in the blackest part of the Conspiracy! The Man, in accusing whom almost every Witness both Scotch and English consented, so that his Crimes have been proved by more than Twenty plain Evidences; particularly the Duke of *Monmouth* himself

self having confess'd to his Majesty, That in all their Debates, Ferguson was always for Cutting of Throats ; saying, That was the most Compendious Way. That this very Ferguson should so far make good his own words at parting, when he vow'd He would never be out of Plot as long as he liv'd ! That now in his Banishment under the load of so many undeniable Treasons, he should still appear as the great Patron of the Old Cause, and should presume he can impose on the World in a matter of Fact so fully try'd, so clearly prov'd and determined ! What can be a greater Impudence, than that Ferguson should still expect that he could make any Man living believe, the King himself, or the Duke of York could ever be induced to practise his *Compendious Way* on the Earl of Essex ?

However from this one instance the King hopes the World will judge, how most Injuriouslly and Barbarously he has been used by his Adversaries in their other Libels against him; in most of which it is well known the same venomous Pen was employ'd.

As for the deplorable end of the said Earl, his Majesty freely owns, there was no Man in his Dominions more deeply afflicted with it than himself : His Majesty having been thereby deprived of an extraordinary Opportunity to exercise his Royal Clemency ; and to testify to all his Loyal Subjects and Old Friends, how highly he valued the Memory and Sufferings of the Lord Capel.

Next himself, his Majesty thinks he is also bound in common Justice to declare, That his entirely beloved Brother was most tenderly concern'd and griev'd at that lamentable Effect of the Earl

of *Essex's* Despair : His Majesty being best able, upon his own knowledge to vouch for the Duke of *York*, That he never deserv'd ill of the said Earl, and was always most readily inclined, for both their Fathers sakes, to have forgivn whatever ill the Earl of *Essex* had done to him.

Now touching his Majesties Pardonning the Duke of *Monmouth*, and what followed upon it, the King is pleased to this Account shall be given.

The World needs not be told with what extraordinary regret to his Majesty, the said Duke was of late Years perverted from that sense of his Duty and Allegiance; his Majesty might justly claim from him, upon many more Obligations besides that of being his Subject.

But it was one of the first and principal Artifices of the Earl of *Shaftsbury's* Malice, after his own disgrace at Court, to be reveng'd on the King, by afflicting him in so tender a part, and by fly Insinuations, to wrest from his Bosom a Person, who he knew, had so great a share in his Majesties Affections.

This was indeed a Talent peculiar to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, That of all Men living he could most easily turn himself into all shapes, and comply with all Dispositions ; having by long practise, got the skill to cover his Hooks with Baits fitting every Humour. The Covetous, who are no small Number of the pretended Godly Party, those he was wont to feed, and deceive with hopes of Wealth and new Sequestrations : The Ambitious with Praise and Vain-Glory : The Nonconformist

formist Zealots, with Promises of Liberty in Religion ; sometimes not refusing to stoop lower, and even to serve and assist the Pleasures and Debauches of Men that way inclin'd, if he found them any way useful for his purpose.

Wherefore the said Earl observing in the Duke of *Monmouth* a Mind rash, unsteady and ambitious, soon made him an easie Prey to his wicked Subtilty, disguised under fair and plausible Colours : On the one side, puffing up his Youthful Thoughts with a vaine Ostentation of Honour, and the Temptation of Fame to be gotten by Asserting and Defending his Countries Liberties and Religion, always pretended by him to be in imminent danger, whilst He was out of place : On the other, inflaming him with imaginary Suspicions of the Duke of *York*'s irreconcileable Hatred to his Person. Which was so far from having any real Foundation, that on the contrary, his Majesty, who best knows, does freely here testifie for his dearest Brother in this particular, That the Duke of *Monmouth*, till he made himself incapable of his Friendship, never had a more entire, or fast Friend about his Majesty ; and there was scarce ever any Honour or Benefit conferr'd on him, but it was obtain'd of his Majesty by his Royal Highnesses Intercession.

However by such groundless Jealousies and empty Conceits, was the Duke of *Monmouth* insensibly drawn to desert his only true Interest, and to give himself over to the Delusions of his Majesties mortal Enemies.

This the King apparently perceiving, and foreseeing how in the event it would tend to the

said Dukes inevitable Ruine, his Majesty tryed by all imaginable ways of Kindnes to cast forth the Evil Spirit in him, and to rescue him out of their Hands. At length, when no milder course would serve, his Majesty required him on his Allegiance, to go beyond the Seas, and there to remain till his farther pleasure was signified. His Majesty still hopeing, that at so great a distance the Poyson would be lesse effectual, and that by his absence the said Duke would be kept Innocent of the Treasonable designs which his New Associates were furiously carrying on against the Government.

But in that expectation his Majesty was unfortunately disappointed. The Duke of *Monmouth* presently shew'd, how much his false Friends and Treacherous Flatterers had prevailed over his unwary Youth; and how different they had taught him to be from the Obedience, which at the same time was practised by his Royal Highness. For the said Duke of *Monmouth* soon return'd into *England* contrary to his Majesties express Command.

The discontented Party having thus got him again, and made him surer to themselves by this new Affront to his Majesty, began now to take new Life and Vigour by his presence: With insufferable Boldnes and Contempt of Authority, shewed him every where to the Rabble; Leading him about with insolent Pomp, through many Countries; openly owning and crying him up as the Head of their Cause; the unhappy Young-Man all the while not understanding that he was only a Property.

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By these fatal steps he was at last brought into the most pernicious Counsels and undertakings. And whilst nothing less was intended by his Tempters but the subversion of all that is well-setled and sacred in Church and State; they deluded him into the very same Designs, by popular shews and empty Names of the Protestant Duke, the great Champion and Protector of the Privileges of the Subject and the Reformed Religion: Which under his Majesty, can never want any other Protector; nor can ever stand in need of such Champions as many of late have vaunted themselves to be, of whose Religion there can be given no better Account than of their Loyalty.

Such then was the state of things, when upon the first breaking forth of this Horrid Conspiracy, his Majesty with inexpressible surprize and Grief, Found by undoubted Evidence the Duke of Monmouth very deeply engaged; and therefore had but too just reason to put him into a Proclamation among the other Conspirators: After that the said Duke had withdrawn himself from his Majesties Justice, and so long was become incapable of his Forgiveness.

In this obstinate defiance the Duke of Monmouth continued, till the Outlawry against him, and other his Complices began to draw to an Issue: Then his Majesty receiv'd from him the first Letter: In which his Majesty fancy'd he saw a greater Spirit of Ingenuity than afterwards proved: However finding in it so clear and full expressions of the said Dukes remorse for his former Disloyalty to his Majesty and Ingratitude to the

Duke

Duke of York, and so frank professions of his Resolutions to amend for the future, joyn'd with the greatest Imprecations on himself ; if he should wilfully violate his promises therein made : his Majesty did thereupon immediately return this Answer written with his own Hand, (that his Majesty might not be wanting on his part to lay hold on any good and probable Opportunity of reducing him to Reason, and saving him from utter Ruine :) *If the Duke of Monmouth desires to make himself capable of my Mercy, he must render himself to the Secretary, and resolve to tell me all he knows, resigning himself entirely to my Pleasure.*

This determinate Declaration of his Majesties Will, drew from the Duke of Monmouth a second Letter ; wherein with vehement and pathetick Words he aggravates his Distraction and Torment for having offended his Majesty. Confesses *Himself in fault, betray'd into fatal Mistakes, misled into Mischiefs, whereof he did not at first in the least suspect the Consequences* : declares, *That his Crime appear'd to him in so terrifying a shape, that he preferr'd even Death before his present sense of it* : implores *His Majesties Pardon no otherwise, but if he may receive it by his Royal Highnesses Mediation* : professes *To speak this not only in outward Form, but with the greatest Sincerity in the World* : resigns *Himself to his Majesties Disposal, not only now, but for the remainder of his Life* : engages *Absolutely to put his very Will into his Majesties Hands for the future, which he acknowledges had been so ill a Guide to him in times past* : concluding, *That till he could receive some comfortable Return to this his unfeigned Submission,*
he

be was the most miserable, disconsolate Creature living.

Upon the receipt of this second Letter; the King being perswaded there could be no room left to question the Sincerity of a real Change in the Duke of Monmouth, and knowing he had now enough in his Hands to overwhelm him with Confusion, if it should prove otherwise; his Majesty did thereupon without any more reserve, immediately admit him into his Presence, being introduced by Mr. Secretary Jenkins.

When the Secretary was withdrawn, there being none else present but his Royal Highness, his Majesty can have no other Testimony besides of what past between them but God, who knows all things; And to the same God his Majesty appeals, as well as to his dearest Brother: Nothing doubting but if the Duke of Monmouth shall ever return to any sense of his Duty to God and his King, he himself will be a third Witness of the Truth of what his Majesty now declares; *That the Duke of Monmouth, with Signs of the most humble Contrition and sincere Sorrow for his past Miscarriages, did then fully and freely acknowledge his having been Conscious of the Conspiracy; and gave his Majesty much greater Light into many Particulars of it than he could possibly else have obtain'd.*

'Tis true, his Majesty does not deny the said Duke persisted to the last in renouncing any the least knowledge or thought of the Aflassinating part. Nor did his Majesty much press him on that side; his Royal Indulgence easily inclining him to wish and to believe, That One who had the

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Honour to be taken so near to him, could not be guilty of so vile a Parricide.

But of the other part, the Trayterous Design to seize on his Majesties Person, and subvert the present Government by an Insurrection ; of that his Majesty must own and profess on the Word of a King, The Duke of *Monmouth* made no scruple to confess his share ; and so largely to set it forth, that there was little of the Conspiracy before known, which the said Duke did not confirm ; and many Passages of it were before unknown, which he reveal'd.

After this his Majesty made no delay to give him many certain Proofs of his entire Forgiveness of all past Offences, and of his renew'd Affections and Royal Bounty to him for the future ; presently cherishing him near his own Person with his wonted Tenderness ; declaring in Council the perfect Contentment he had receiv'd by his Submission, and ordering his Pardon to be dispatch'd with all expedition ; promising him withal at his earnest Intreaty, *That he should not be a Witness* ; a Favour refused to the late Duke of *Orleans* in *France* upon the like occasion.

Yet no sooner was the Pardon compleated in due Form of Law, but his Majesty and the whole Court was afresh Alarm'd with the continual resort to him of divers Persons, whom his Majesty knew to be engag'd, and had Proof sufficient to Convict them in course of Law, if he would have produced it all.

To this at the same time were added many arrogant and impudent Speeches of his late Complices and Dependants, saying, 'That the said Duke had
made

made no Confession, but had asserted the Innocency of some that had suffer'd. Which manifestly tended to vilifie the Truth of the whole Discovery, and to bring a Scandal on all the Proceedings of his Majesties Justice.

Wherefore at last his Majesty was awaken'd, and thought fit to put him gently in mind by what was so lately past, of his danger of relapsing into the same Precipice, out of which nothing but his Royal Goodness had recover'd him. And for the better Security of the said Duke himself, as well as of the Kingdom for the time to come, his Majesty instantly demanded of him to give some such Satisfaction to the whole Nation in publick, as he had but just before given to his Majesty and his Royal Highness in private.

The Duke of *Monmouth* seeming willing to comply with his Majesties most Gracious Desires, all that his Majesty obliged him to do, was to Write over, and Subscribe a Letter, which his Majesty himself was pleas'd so to word, as not only to consult the Duke of *Monmouth's* Safety, but also his Credit, as much as could possibly stand with his Majesties own Safety or Credit. For his Majesty permitted him in that Letter wholly to acquit himself of the Bloody Assassination, and only required him to own again his part in the Insurrection. And his Majesty leaves it to all the World to Judge, whether in this Letter, of his Majesties own prescribing, he did not express the Duke of *Monmouth's* Guilt far more tenderly, than the said Duke himself had done in his own Letters to his Majesty, before his Pardon was Sealed.

This Letter the Duke of *Monmouth* readily Subscribed,

Subscribed, and Presented to his Majesty. But his former ill Adherents and Corrupters still Flocking about him in great Numbers, and Animating him to *continue Faithful to his Old Friends of the Party*; assuring him, he could not fail in little time to overbear all that should stand in his way, by the Power of his recover'd and increas'd Favour; by these and such like Mischievous Instigations, they soon got so much the better of his unstable Mind, as to overthrow all his new-made Vows of Loyalty.

Insomuch that presently after he came rashly to the King, and earnestly intreated the foresaid Letter might be return'd him again; having been instructed to pretend a Fear, that some opportunity might be taken from it by his Enemies to blast his Reputation, and perhaps to bring him in to give Evidence against others his Companions in the Conspiracy.

His Majesty had often before said and promised enough to him to free the Mind of any reasonable Man from such Jealousies. But when all Protests of that kind, on his Majesties Part, could have no effect; and the said Duke still vehemently insisted, *That the Paper he had sign'd might be delivered him back*, his Majesty once for all told him, *he would never keep it against his will*, that he might not have the least occasion to say he was forced to write what he did: But withal seriously warn'd him to consider what irreparable ill consequences on his part, were likely to follow upon his obstinacy: And therefore gave him time till the next Morning to deliberate calmly with himself, what was to be his final Resolution.

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The next Day the Duke of Monmouth appearing still more fixt in his perverse Demand, his Majesty freely put the Letter again into his Hands; but withal from that moment banish'd him his Presence and the Court.

Nor can his Majesty reflect on the said Duke's undutiful Behaviour in the issue of this whole Affair, without an extreme Indignation, to find, that after so submissive and ample a Confession of his Crime, both by Writing and Speech, he should not only give no other sign of his Repentance, but that the very first use he should make of his Majesties Gracious Pardon for it, was to take by it the advantage of entring more securely on a new course of Disobedience.

The King has thus condescended to set forth an Impartial Relation of the Beginning, Proceeding and Defeat of that whole detestable Conspiracy. His Majesty has so long delay'd the Publication of it, chiefly in Consideration of many of the Criminals themselves, how ill soever they may have deserv'd of him. For the Law allowing them the space of a whole Year, after the Outlawry, to render themselves before they were to be look'd on as Men absolutely condemn'd, his Majesty was willing to stay till the full time was expired; still hoping, that some of them would come voluntarily in, and stand a Legal Tryal, and, if possible, prove themselves Innocent.

But since not one of the Persons Outlaw'd has all this while ventured himself on the Laws of his Country, his Majesty has now thought it not fit any longer to suppress the Evidence against them.

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And

And what is here publish'd, though it be not near the whole of the Informations given in upon Oath, yet will be found abundantly sufficient to Convict every Man of them, either of the intended Insurrection or Assassination; Both which his Majesty knows are made out with as much clearness of Testimony, and strength of indubitable Records, as any Humane Affair is capable of.

VVhat now remains? But that his Majesty should engage himself before God and the whole World, to make a right use of so great a Blessing as his Deliverance from these desperate Treasons; and should with the Authority of a Kingd and with the tender Affection of a true Father of his Country, require and admonish all his Subjects of all Parties and Opinions, to do the like.

For himself, his Majesty cannot but be deeply sensible he has been now once more preserved by the immediate Hand of God; and therefore looks on himself as afresh obliged to manifest his Gratitude to Heaven, by promoting the Glory of his Preserver, in continuing to consult above all things the Welfare of his Church, and the Peace and Happiness of this great People committed to his Charge.

And his Majesty declares he will improve this new Advantage the Divine Favour has so marvellously put into his Hands, not in Acts of Severity and Revenge, which his Nature utterly abhors; but by imitating the Divine Goodness, as in a regular Course of Strict Justice to all obdurate Impenitents, so, which he much rather desires, in his usual method of Mercy and Kindness to as many

many as shall give sufficient Proofs of Penitence, and Reformation of their past Crimes ; Writs which his Majesty has too much Reason to believe his and His Fathers Enemies have hitherto been very little acquainted with : yet no sooner written than

As for these his Majesties misguided Subjects, who after all this persevered to be disaffected to his Government, his Majesty has reason to expect that now at length they would be convinced by that very Providence which used to be their own principal and best-beloved Argument, whenever it seem'd to be never so little on their side; and that henceforth they would quietly submit to, and follow the same Providence ; since it has so signal- ly appear'd against them, and much more Won- derfully declar'd it self for, than ever Mistr Syd- ney had reason to say, it had declar'd against his Majesty.

If there can possibly still remain any well-meaning Men in their Party, led away by the specious Delusions of good Words, abused to the worst things ; if any such have really thought their Lives and Fortunes, Laws and Consciences at any time in Danger, under his Majesties Govern- ment ; let them but remember and consider sadly what was the Issue of the very same Jealousies, Murmurs and Tumults against his Royal Father of Blessed Memory ; whether the first and most eminent Instruments of subverting, for a time, this renown'd, and ancient Monarchy, were not them-selves beguil'd by the same Methods into the mean- est Slavery, both Spiritual and Temporal and Out of which, they were compell'd at last to confess, they could be no otherwise redeem'd, but by re- turning

turning again into the very same constitution of things, they had so unwiseley overthrown.

Or if the Experience of time past, so dearly bought, can prevail nothing on them, let them but seriously reflect on their present Condition. In stead of harkening to what wicked and designing Men, under the most deceitful Colours suggest to them for Sinister Ends, let them guide their Opinions by their own plain and sensible Observation. Let them but fairly and indifferently compare the present State of all Nations round about them with their own. And then let them refuse, if they can, to bleſs God and the King, for their inexpressible advantages above all others.

Whilst all his Majesties Subjects find they may if they will securely enjoy Peace, Plenty, Liberty and the best Religion; why should any torment themselves, or disquiet others with wild imaginations and Fears of future Evils? Which nothing can be so ready a way to bring upon them as their own Fears.

Henceforth therefore let no vain pretence of Liberty and Property once more push them on to the same desperate Designs, wherein when they had formerly success (which they cannot always promise themselves) yet even then it turn'd within a few Years to the Ruine of their own Pretences.

Let no mistaken Zeal of Conscience seduce them again to Disobedience, since the only Obligations of a True Christian Conscience lead all to Obedience, none to Rebellion.

Let

Let them no longer be infatuated by the false Shews and Insinuations of Popularity : Rather let them learn once for all, who is the only true Patriot, what is truly Popular, what not.

Let them know, That whoever complies with the common Peoples sudden Humours, and changeable Passions, against their solid Interest ; Whoever labours to make the whole Government obnoxious to any single Sect or Party ; VVhoever strives to divide the Country or City from the Court ; VVhoever endeavours to enlarge disputable Priviledges, to the hazard of known Prerogatives ; In fine, whoever would pervert Liberty into Licentiousness, that Man can never be a True Patriot ; all That is false Popularity : It is indeed equally as Destructive to the People as to the Prince.

Those Counsels only are and ought to be esteem'd really Popular, which proceed on sure and legal Foundations, to confirm the Monarchy where it is strong, to strengthen and support those parts of it, which by length of time may have been somewhat weaken'd and decay'd. Those Persons only are the True Patriots, and design their Countries Good the best and only sure way, who make it their Business to keep the King in a condition to protect his People. There is no true, commendable English Popularity, but true English Loyalty.

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Thus

Thus much his Majesty vouchsafes to advise all his Enemies, and discontented Subjects; though even to them he has done all the Good in this World to oblige them not to be so.

There is one sort of these, whom the King acknowledges he once thought he should never have had just Reason to rank among his Enemies. Those Persons his Majesty means, who after having well approved their Loyalty to his Glorious Father in the last Age of Rebellion, have yet since been either wholly perverted, or have very much stagger'd in their due Obedience and Love to himself.

For them his Majesty declares he would fain still retain his wonted Kindness. And if either private Envy, or a too Presumptuous Value of their old Merits, shall have made them entirely to forget the many vast Benefits and Favours that He, or his Father have so liberally conferr'd on them; or if the late groundless Rumours of Popery, Slavery and Arbitrary Power shall have so far prevailed, as to sour and corrupt Them also; yet they might remember, that their Generous Loyalty did once before remain untainted, and bravely stood the Shock amidst the very same Rumours and Slanders, as popularly, but as faint urg'd then agamit the Government, as they have been of late. So that either then they

they were in the wrong, or are now; and cannot possibly have been both times on the right side.

Wherefore his Majesty conjures them to look back on the Actions of their former Lives; and to make the Honour gotten by them in their Youth for their Courage and Fidelity to the Crown, first a reproof, then an example to their Old Age. Once for all, let them seriously observe that they are come at last to be unfortunately deluded, not only by many the very same ill Principles, but also by many the very same ill Parties of Men, which they once esteemed it their Glory and Conscience to fight against.

But as for all who still continue the Kings Faithful Friends and Dutiful Subjects, his Majesty most willingly takes this occasion to speak to them in another style. His Majesty cannot but testifie to all the VVorld the delightful sense he retains of their unmoveable stedfastness and renew'd Fidelity to him, in these late times of extreme difficulty and distraction. He cannot suppress within his own Royal Breast his Joy, to find the same unshaken Principles and Practices of Loyalty to his Blessed Father, still surviving and flourishing in them, and inherited by himself with increase.

And after the unvaluable Mercy of God to him and his Subjects in this most happy Restoration,

storation, his Majesty cannot but esteem This to have been equall'd by none but That ; that, in so dangerous a Juncture of Publick Affairs, he has met with so many unfeign'd Testimonies of Love to his Person and Zeal for his Government , from all Degrees of Men in the Nation.

And if some have swerv'd from their Duty, yet his Majesties Indignation and Resentments against them are overwhelm'd by the comfortable remembrance of the far greater and better Number of those who stood by him in the severest Trials.

So his Majesty has just reason to acknowledge, the main Body of the Nobility and Gentry has done : So has the whole sound and honest Part of the Commonalty : So the great Fountains of Knowledge and Civility, the Two Universities : So the wisest, and most Learned in the Laws : So the whole Clergy, and all the Genuine Sons of the Church of *England* : A Church whose Glory it is, to have been never tainted with the least Blot or Disloyalty.

His Majesty cannot here forbear to let the World know, what entire Satisfaction he has taken in one special Testimony of his Subjects Affections ; whence through Gods Gracious Providence the Monarchy has gain'd a most considerable Advantage , by means of this very Conspiracy ; And it is, that so great a Number of the Cities and Corporations

tions of this Kingdom, have since so freely resign'd their Local Immunities and Charters into his Majesties Hands; lest the abuse of any of them should again hereafter prove hazardous to the just Prerogatives of the Crown.

This his Majesty declares he esteems as the peculiar Honour of his Reign; being such, as none of the most popular of all his late Royal Predecessors could have promis'd to themselves, or hoped for. Wherefore his Majesty thinks himself more than ordinarily oblig'd to continue, as he has hitherto begun, to shew the greatest Moderation and Benignity, in the exercise of so great a Trust: Resolving upon this occasion, to convince the highest pretenders to the Commonweal; that as the Crown was the first Original, so it is still the surest Guardian of all the Peoples Lawful Rights, and Privileges.

In Conclusion his Majesty makes this solemn Declaration to all his Loving Subjects: That as by former and late Experience, he has found, next under God, the firmness of his Friends to him has saved his Authority and Life; So he is resolved to secure both, by his Constancy to his Friends. Such as was the Old Loyal Party, and as many as have been bred up, and succeeded in their Principles; Whom his Majesty looks on as the great Pillars,

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and Supporters of his Throne. By them therefore his Majesty declares, he will always stand, and then he is sure by Gods Grace he can never fall.

His Majesty also here Publickly resolves, that he himself will take care to keep his Ministers and Servants, from the Lowest to the Highest, within the Lawful Bounds of their Duty; But will never suffer them to be cryed down by Noise, and Tumults.

As to his Dearest and most Loyal Brothers Safety and just Rights, his Majesty assures all the World, he will inviolably Cherish them as his own. And as the Danger in this Hellish Conspiracy was Common to them both, so their Interests and Affections shall be always inseparable. Nor can his Majesty forbear to recommend to the Imitation of all his other Subjects, the profound Respect, entire Resignation, and Obedience, which his Royal Highness continues to Practise to his Majesties Person and Government.

His Majesty expects from his Subjects all just submission to his Laws: And promises them a proportionable Favour and Incouragement. His Majesty lets them all know that the Rewards of the Crown shall be distributed, according as Men deserve of the Crown, and no otherwise. And as

as God has given his Majesty the Heart,
not to desire to abuse; So he will never,
as long as he Lives, part with the just Pre-
rogatives and Powers, with which God
alone has intrusted him.

F I N I S.
